Sex and College Girls *Christopher Jencks*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

April 4, 1964, 35 cents

Humphrey's Senate

Murray Kempton

How About It, Detroit?

Rainer F. Meyerowitz

Who's Who in Asia

Jerry A. Rose

Negro Registration

Pat Watters

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARY
BURLINGTON V
12-64 K26744 APR-1964

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from Washington*

Dirksen and Fulbright

★ There he sat, Everett Dirksen, on a scarred work table in the Senate press gallery, legs not touching the ground, cigarette in tapered right hand, tortoise shell glasses in left hand, voluble, velvety and ingratiating, with his curly hair like a marcelled dishmop. And this is the man who, more than anybody in America, will probably decide the fate of the civil rights bill. The wrinkles have deepened since he slimmed down, the voice is as honeyed as ever, the air as insinuating. He always seems to be acting a part, and knowing it, and winking at you while he hams it out. There are signs of elegance in the ensemble, the protruding handkerchief, the gold cuff links, the tie clip glittering above the coat V-line, the jade ring.

Negroes are demonstrating in the South, people are being shot, pickets jailed. This is the man a million miles from a slum who probably holds the balance and who will decide how it all comes out. The two-thirds cloture rule and his control of eight or 10 GOP votes give him his power and he seems to enjoy it hugely. He is all for watering the bill down. He says he gets 1,500-2,000 letters a day, 1,000 about civil rights. "Nine out of 10 are against it," he adds brightly. Illinois must be a queer place.

Now comes the real filibuster. Martin Luther King mildly announced here that after a month leeway he will ask for nationwide demonstrations to speed Senate action.

★ Senator Fulbright, who is all wrong on civil rights, set his lance last week at five "myths" involving quite another subject, foreign policy, and before he was through he had the Senate's Col. Blimps hopping up and down with rage. Panama? The treaty of 1903 is "obsolete"; of course we ought to "negotiate" in Panama's favor. Cuba? "Castro is a nuisance but not a grave threat to the US . . . we have flattered a noisy but minor demagogue by treating him as if he were a Napoleonic menace." Latin America – ? Find the groups in particular countries that "might conceivably lead revolutionary movements" against existing "feudal oligarchies," and "consider how we might communicate with them and influence them." Moscow – ? "The master myth in the Cold War is that the Communist bloc is a monolith. . . . The Soviet Union, though still a formidable adversary, has ceased to be totally and implacably hostile to the West" (oh, yes, and our policy of trade sniping is a "failure"). Red China – ? It's here to stay, and French recognition though hardly a friendly act may ultimately "serve a constructive long-term purpose." Vietnam – ? Here the chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee was less radical; he said he thought we had no choice but "to support the regime there by the most effective means available."

With the exception of the comments on Vietnam, we can't remember ever having seen so many well-aimed bricks thrown into so many angry hornets' nests, in so short a time, by one man. Senator Fulbright is a student and a bit of a patrician (Rhodes Scholar; president, University of Arkansas). He had an elegant and implacable disdain for McCarthy. (We remember meeting him outside a committee room just after he had been exposed to the anti-Communist operation for the first time. With a tone of shocked distaste that couldn't have been bettered by Joe Alsop, he uttered a kind of definitive anathema: "Why, the man is a boor!"

Defense Cut

★ About the most important news around Washington is the article in the April *Foreign Affairs* by former Deputy Defense Secretary Roswell Gilpatric saying that if gradual relaxation of tension with Moscow continues, the defense budget could be cut 25 percent by 1970. Let's see: 25 percent of the current $51 billion defense budget would be around $12.5 billion (as a comparison, that would be seven times the 1965 federal budget for education).

Is this a rosy dream? Well, President Johnson has just named a very practical cabinet committee on the Economic Impact of Defense and Disarmament to consider it. Let's not hope too much, what with Vietnam and all, but it is now enough of a reality so that it must be considered in economic planning.

The so-called War on Poverty is largely based on money saved from defense expenditures. Defense spending has run 10 percent of GNP in recent years, now it's dropped to nine percent. The President hints to advisers that if Khrushchev continues half-way amenable, several more billions may be added to the poverty attack before long.

The initials "GNP" (Gross National Product) express the economic output of the country. The letters "RQ" might express the Reform Quotient in the economy – the statistical gap between the richest fifth of the people and the poorest. A nation's economic and spiritual health depends on whether the RQ is rising or falling.

In the US between 1929 and 1944 the gap between rich and poor declined. Since then, alas, the RQ has been stationary. With rolling unemployment it may now be growing. The progress made since WW II has not involved any major change in the distribution of incomes. A fifth of America's families, 9.4 million people, get only 5 percent of the American pie.

Heroic Exposé

★ As much as anything it was Dwight Macdonald in *The New Yorker*, summarizing Michael Harrington's book on poverty, that roused President Kennedy and produced the "war." The same excellent magazine gave us Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*. Now Richard Harris uses the same technique; he starts us unsuspicious readers down a verdant rivulet of reading matter through thick banks of advertising, until we are trapped beyond escape in an enormous series: this time on the heroic Kefauver drug exposé.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 150 Number 14 Issue 2576 April 4, 1964*
Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 36, D. C. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $6.50. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address. Copyright© 1964 by Harrison-Blaine, Inc. Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.

CONTENTS

THE WEEK – The Settling Price; Guaranteed Income; Cops with Guns; Objection over Art 3

The Senate: Mr. Humphrey's Conquering Hosts – *Murray Kempton* 6

FOREIGN REPORTS – Kenya: Not Quite Off with the Old; Scandinavia: Cool to Khrushchev; Israel: Eshkol in Nazareth 9

How About It, Detroit? – *Rainer F. Meyerowitz* 10
Who's Who in Asia – *Jerry A. Rose* 13
Negro Registration in the South – *Pat Watters* 15

BOOKS – *Reviews by Christopher Jencks; Edward T. Chase* 18
Art *by Frank Getlein* 25
Films *by Stanley Kauffmann* 28

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
Editors – Robert Evett, Murray Kempton
Associate Editor – James Ridgeway
Assistant to the Editors – F. R. Ruskin
Copy Editor – Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes, Helen Fuller, Frank Getlein, B. H. Haggin, Morton H. Halperin, Irving Howe, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann, Charles Burton Marshall, Helen Hill Miller

Publisher – Robert B. Luce
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen
New York Advertising Representative – Roland Gomez, Murray Hill Advertising Inc., 64 East 34th St., New York, N.Y. 10016

The Settling Price

Approaching from the rear with catlike tread, General de Gaulle pounced on the exposed American rump at the United Nations conference on trade and development in Geneva last week, and delivered a swift and not undeserved kick. France is currently spending more of her gross national product on aid to undeveloped countries than anyone else, including the United States. But at Geneva, the French Finance Minister proposed that instead of just doling out aid, the rich nations should help the poor countries to increase their earnings, by buying more of their products and paying better prices for them. It is not necessary to examine the French suggestions in detail to appreciate both that they have some intrinsic merit and that they were bound to win some applause from the developing nations. Writing about foreign aid on January 4, we ourselves deplored the extent to which aid has become tied to the rich nations' exports rather than to the poor countries' needs, and suggested that a prime aim of foreign aid ought to be to put developing countries into the orbit of self-sustaining growth, thus making aid self-liquidating. We argued that, in order to achieve this, there was needed a coherent pattern of world trade that included the developing nations. It has been left to France not the US to advance such a plan officially.

The US reaction to the French suggestions seems to have been to snicker that even the Russians are not taking them seriously. That, if true, might be a very good reason why the US should. The real role of the US, in dealing with this global problem of the widening gap between the rich and the poor nations, ought to be to give the lead to the other advanced coun ries: not just because the US happens to be the richest, but because of what President Johnson has called our moral commitment. Instead, members of Congress have already once rejected a chance to coordinate the developed nations' bilateral aid programs, by refusing to put up $2 to match every $3 that our allies are prepared to put in the International Development Association; Congressmen refused although the total American contribution to IDA would be only $312 million, spread over three years, and although Mr. Johnson has called this scheme "international sharing in the aid effort at its best." Now we let General de Gaulle make us look like pikers.

The President has asked Congress for $3.4 billion, the smallest amount of foreign aid funds since 1948. It is $1.1 billion less than was asked for this year, even after the Clay committee had cut Mr.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kennedy's original asking figure. The Agency for International Development chopped about $500 million out of economic aid, and $400 million out of military aid, in order to bring the total down from what the economical Clay committee wanted for this year, to Mr. Johnson's super-economy target for 1965. But the latter is $400 million more than Congress appropriated for this year. There is still a chance therefore that this year Congress may demand yet another cut. In fact, the foreign aid axe-swinger-in-chief, Mr. Leo Passman (D, La.) has already pledged himself to do so.

The US is cutting the amount of foreign aid just when the other advanced countries, whose economies the Marshall Plan did so much to revive, are at last getting more deeply into aid and, above all, into the soft-loan business. Hitherto, undoubtedly, the US has had to bear the brunt almost alone, a fact which did not sweeten Congressional tempers, especially when balance-of-payments difficulties were added to the problem of tax burdens made heavier by foreign aid. But today the other industrialized countries, including Japan, are contributing about 45 percent of the non-Communist aid going to developing countries. They are making longer-term loans, at falling rates of interest. About a quarter of all non-Communist aid is now channeled to the recipients through consortia of the industrialized nations. It is against this background that Congress ought to look at IDA, which is the World Bank's "second window," and makes loans to developing countries at a very low rate of interest (less than one percent) with repayment spread over 50 years.

But Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon has had to assure suspicious Congressmen, in an attempt to persuade them to reverse their February refusal, that IDA will not lend money either to Cuba, or to India for a "controversial," government-owned Indian steel-mill. And AID is trying to appease Congress, by promising to fire about 1,200 staff, and by playing up the role of private enterprise in foreign aid. For every $3 that firms invest in a developing country, they will be allowed to subtract almost $1 from their total tax liabilities. AID is to hand over more of its work to private firms, universities, and other organizations, on a contract basis. AID's extremely able Administrator, David E. Bell, is not in the least to blame for those appeasing gestures. The alternatives seem to have been either total extinction of the aid program, or such drastic surgery that AID might have lived on as a hopeless cripple. Bell is no more to blame than is Secretary of State Rusk for going all the way to Wisconsin last month, in order to announce that among the advantages of foreign aid there could be counted the hiring of 40 extra men by the Consolidated Badger Corporation in the city of Shawano, to make butter oil from surplus stocks for the Food for Peace program. This it seems is the way in which the concept of foreign aid now has to be sold to the American people and to Congress, if it is to have a chance of being accepted at all.

It is perfectly just that both Congress and the Administration should guard against waste in the foreign aid program. And it is also true that billions of dollars are involved. But these billions have to be seen in perspective. For foreign aid is a diminishing component of American spending. In 1949, it was two percent of the gross national product – which is what France is spending now – but what President Johnson is asking this year is less than three-fifths of one percent of a much enlarged American GNP. Military and economic aid combined costs Americans about $17.80 per head per year. The sum of $2.4 billion, or rather less than American women spend every year on cosmetics, does not seem too much for economic aid abroad, considering that most of the money is loaned not given away, and that it is supposed to help put six selected countries (one of them India, with 400 million people) on their feet and keep a number of others at least afloat.

About a quarter of US aid is now to go to Latin America: this works out at $2.59 per Latin American head, compared with 53 cents per head in 1960. Last week an article in *The New Republic* described how dismally fast the number of Latin American heads is increasing. Happily, AID has begun to attend to the population explosions that threaten to wipe out the benefits of aid; but it has only begun.

Perhaps Americans are tired of foreign aid. The subject is certainly full of irritations, on both sides, as an article in this issue on Asian leaders suggests. If so, a possible way out is to explore other ways of narrowing the rich-poor gap, just as the French say. But aid is still an indispensable tool. Mr. Passman said of the President's request for $3.4 billion: "There's an asking price and a settling price. That's the asking price." But Mr. Johnson told Congress that the real settling price of mowing down US aid now could be a harvest of woe for us and our children.

Guaranteed Income

The "Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution" is a group of 32 intellectuals, including several contributors to this journal, which last week offered President Johnson a lengthy memorandum on the problems of automation, nuclear weapons and civil rights. Its most dramatic proposal was that the federal government expand welfare spending sharply, guaranteeing to every American an income adequate to maintain a decent standard of living.

This is hardly a new idea. The English poor laws had

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a similar objective. So did public relief, social security and unemployment insurance in America. What the committee proposes is an expansion and rationalization of this patchwork – and, perhaps equally important, a new nomenclature ("guaranteed annual income") to make "the dole" respectable.

There is one way in which family income might be increased, without the façade of earning it. This would be to take up the European and Canadian idea of family allowances, as was proposed in these pages a few weeks ago by TRB. If Congress paid every family a stipend of, say, $50 a month for each child, the total cost would run to around $30 billion a year. This is less than five percent of the GNP. Even at present tax rates, federal revenues will have risen by more than $30 billion by 1970. Such an allowance for the young might be politically more palatable than a dole, and moreover it might meet the otherwise insoluble problem of how to lift every family out of poverty, without creating a wage structure in which some jobs are supposed to pay enough to support a wife, five children, and an arthritic grandmother. But the Committee on the Triple Revolution probably shouldn't count on it.

Cops With Guns

Mrs. Mary Schultz, a 54-year-old housewife, was driving peaceably along the San Bernardino freeway near Los Angeles when she was fatally involved in a police chase. She was shot in the head and her car crashed. Police cars had been racing after an armed man suspected of holding up a drugstore and stealing $80. The high-speed pursuit went on for eight miles, with the police firing shots after the suspect, who they say had tried to shoot them.

After the suspect's fast-moving vehicle crashed into Mrs. Schultz's car from behind, thus ending the chase, it was discovered that both she and the suspect had been shot. Just before the crash, her car was seen to swerve and it is believed that she lost control of it, presumably as a result of her being hit by a ricocheting bullet fired from one of the other cars. The wound caused by this bullet would not have been severe enough to kill her; the crash did.

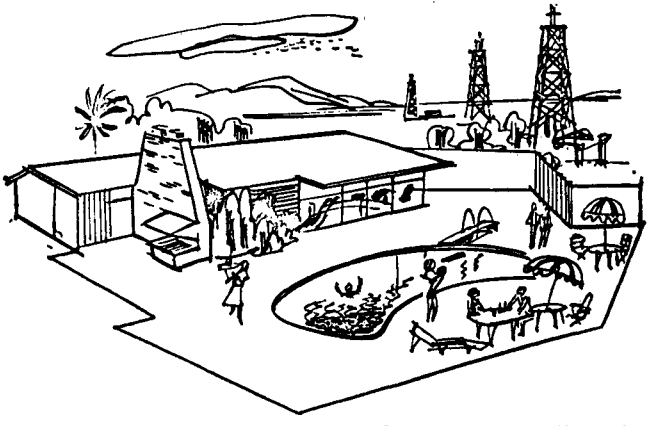
The tragedy raises what the *Los Angeles Times* calls "some disquieting questions." The paper says that the police had radio relays at their command and the alleged robber in plain sight, and asks if their chase-and-duel action, on freeways being used by other cars, was really necessary. Part of the police answer is that although the freeway was being traveled at the time "it was not crowded." This will not be much consolation to the bereaved husband of Mrs. Schultz. On March 14 ("Cops With Guns – 'Stop Or I'll Shoot' ") a contributor to this journal described several incidents in New York, involving armed policemen and members of the public. The case of Mrs. Schultz, in California, adds a grim footnote.

Objection Over Art

The Independent Petroleum Association of America is mad with Internal Revenue Commissioner Mortimer M. Caplin. The 1964 Income Tax Guide, which anyone can buy for 40 cents, has a piece of art, in its advice to oilmen on how to make the most of the depletion allowances that the law affords them, that the IPAA thinks is too artful by half.

The association's secretary, Minor S. Jameson, says the IRS drawing implies "that the affluent life, with private swimming pools, is made possible apparently exclusively by the depletion provision in the tax laws." He denounces it as an innuendo that is "neither subtle nor veiled: it is propaganda that appeals to the emotions of the 'average taxpayer' to whom the book is directed. It reflects on the judgment of Congress, which for 38 years has maintained these tax provisions as both necessary and proper." The IPAA sees no justification for relating swimming pools and bikinis to oil and gas wells, and believes it is "grossly inappropriate for the IRS to engage in this type of propaganda." The IRS, whose illustrated guidebook is a government bestseller, says no innuendo was intended; there are suburban homes with swimming-pools everywhere in the US.

OIL, GAS, AND MINERAL DEPLETION is computed by two methods: (1) cost depletion and (2) percentage depletion. You should always compute your depletion each year by both methods and use the method which results in the greater deduction.



Cost depletion, in general, is figured by dividing the total number of recoverable units (tons, barrels, etc., deter-

– from the 1964 Income Tax Guide

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SENATE

Mr. Humphrey's Conquering Hosts

A truly dazzling legislative performance is seldom possible until circumstance renders it unnecessary. The weight of circumstance must then be on the side of the civil rights bill; it is hard to believe that, otherwise, Hubert Humphrey's management of the bill's first two weeks in the Senate could have been permitted to be quite this marvel of discipline and delicacy.

Humphrey shares custody of the civil rights bill with Thomas Kuchel, the Republican Whip. There is no difference in their zest for the enterprise. But Humphrey's position is the more critical: he commands the larger force in their coalition; and it is to him, as Democratic Whip, that the Southerners will turn to negotiate. Kuchel has high qualities of commitment and courage, but he cannot match Humphrey's passion for infinitely-calibrated legislative maneuver. No one else could be expected to; Humphrey brings to the Senate floor a skill and a subtlety which has no parallel in the body except when we watch a Southerner exercising similar qualities in a committee.

Then too, the Southern resistance is a process of testing Democratic strength and Republican weakness. Humphrey's command is not only larger but more solid than Kuchel's. Above Kuchel and away from him, there is the indefinable presence of Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, incanting his circumlocutions of dubiety and non-involvement.

The main cloud on the future of the civil rights bill is that the coalition has just 59 votes and will need 67 to invoke cloture against the filibuster.

If we assume that Mr. Johnson's black arts can pick up four uncommitted Democrats – and unless we assume that the President can also win over Carl Hayden – the coalition must also find four additional votes from Republicans, and everyone that is possible is also Dirksenite. Dirksen then is the last hope of the resistance, which condition defines how desperate its true situation is. The reports of the courtesies he extends the Southern Democrats have, in the context of his history, a positively sinister cast. Who deals with Dirksen walks on water; and he is never so elaborately polite as he is to the man he intends to disappoint. But, while Dirksen waits, Kuchel commands only a half-committed troop.

Humphrey then has the heavier armor and is freer than Kuchel to maneuver. But he also has the burden of a bill whose failure would damage the Administration Democrats more than it would the Republicans. He also has a clock to watch. The Republican convention gathers on July 13 – a deadline after which the 88th Congress will be substantially enough disbanded to make impractical the passage of any legislation as major as the civil rights bill.

That deadline also circumscribes Humphrey's normal flexibility. He has said that he cannot finish his course responsible for a weaker bill than the House gave him, and expect ever again to be a serious figure in national politics. Humphrey has always had a commendable but slightly disabling tendency to moral self-deprecation; he has a habit of ascribing to his own low motives actions which other politicians would have every right to explain on high principles. He came to the Senate as the developed embodiment of the liberalism of the forties, and it is a sign of his capacity for growth and self-quarrel that, if he can never quite break free from the clichés of that environment, he does flog himself to the more fundamental struggle against the self-righteous cant which was and remains the most deplorable part of liberalism's tone. He must, then, tell us that he cannot compromise on civil rights because to do so would be to risk personal political disaster, when the true explanation is that, if the Senate weakens the civil rights bill, there is every chance that we will end with no law at all.

If the Senate alters the House draft, the differences must be resolved in conference. But Representative William McCulloch, the Ohio Republican who is the bill's true author, brought it through the House with heavy drafts on his capital with Minority Leader Charles Halleck. This was an exertion which could hardly win for McCulloch any tangible material rewards from the voters of Piqua, Ohio, and he has for his bill the pride any politician might be expected to feel for a product of his undiluted principle, and he insists he will take nothing less. Humphrey cannot break a filibuster before the end of May; if he must compromise on legislative substance to do it, he runs the risk that McCulloch will bolt, taking with him House Republicans incalculable in number and motive. There would be no other alternative except for the Senate conferees to accept the original House bill, which would then come back for decision vulnerable

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the full resources of Judge Smith's cunning on the House Rules Committee, and to a renewed filbuster in the Senate. Humphrey must then manage the survival of this bill or he is likely to have none.

The deployment of his troops would, of course, be less impressive if events had not made his resources so commanding; but it would not be so masterly if Humphrey were not its prime commander. As an instance, he is disposed both to enjoy debate and to credit it with an importance quite above the market value most Senators assign to it. Prior civil rights debates have been given over to languid, barely audible performances by the Southerners, with occasional impromptu interventions by liberals who happened to be on the floor and felt the movement of the spirit. Now Humphrey and Kuchel meet every morning, 20 minutes before the session, with the four Democrats and two Republicans who are assigned to watch the floor and such horses as would enjoy a canter on the track, and plan the rebuttals which might be useful to whatever Southerner is condemned to kill the clock that day.

One result of this concern for detail is that for the first time in memory a civil rights debate has turned out to be almost lively; and at the very least Humphrey and Kuchel have improved the theater available to the visiting school children. At the most they have made the filibuster an inconvenience for those who practice it. The other day, Senator Lister Hill stood up to deliver a 76-page analysis of the bill, a process which would have exacted from him four hours of effort, but for which, under prior traditions, he could anticipate no further protraction beyond an occasional agreeable and rest-providing question from the likes of Strom Thurmond. This time, Hill stood gallant and courteous as always, and more exhausted by the minute as there swirled about him a continual rain of question and cross-question from men who would have been content in other days to drowse in their seats or flee to the cloak room, but are now assigned to stay alert and make a record. Senators Thomas McIntyre and Kenneth Keating were there for the coalition, and they were joined by Senators Jacob Javits and Wayne Morse; and, even though the last two are seldom able to rise to true conviction except on matters of personal privilege, the four of them kept the floor lively enough to exercise the talents and deplete the endurance of George Smathers, Olin Johnston and Thurmond in counter-rebuttal.

Minnesota Coach

The Southerners helped make Humphrey Democratic Whip because they like and trust him, and because he is solicitous of their necessities and their feelings. But he was otherwise the most unfortunate choice they could have made; they gave him the authority that he needs to be able to do his present job without fear of the rivalry of comrades who would have been otherwise his equals. The Southerners had scheduled a cross-country race and then had presented the opposition with a captain whose talents and temperament are uniquely for coaching track.

It would be no fun for him to fix the game. What is fun is to distribute a daily mimeographed newsletter, partly assignments of runners in today's meet, partly arguments for the civil rights bill, but first of all reports of the times in yesterday's meet.

The critical daily event is the quorum call; occasionally the Southerners will suggest the absence of a quorum and the coalition must round up 51 Senators or else risk adjournment. At best the loss of a quorum call would indicate a lack of desire in Humphrey's team, and freshen that fading euphoria in the Southerners that is their main defense against the recognition of reality with which it is Humphrey's essential task to confront them. At worst, an adjournment could cost the civil rights coalition too much time.

For the first two weeks of this endurance contest the Senate was debating not the civil rights bill but only a motion to bring it up for debate. The rules give each Senator the privilege of making no more than two speeches on a motion to call up a bill. The Southerners had no way to avoid using up their quota of speeches in time and yielding the floor to the bill, unless they could catch the Humphrey-Kuchel management short on a quorum call. That would force an adjournment, require the majority to reintroduce its motion to call up the civil rights bill, and allow the Southerners to begin again with the right to make two speeches apiece.

Humphrey's device for avoiding such setbacks to schedule and morale has its inspiration in the two-platoon system. He commands 49 safe Democrats, two of whom are at the moment in the hospital. Every afternoon, he serves notice on 24 that he expects them to be available for quorum calls. He has the additional resource of himself and the four Democratic floor captains he assigns each day; there are always four Southerners on the floor; and Kuchel, whose command is less structured but thoroughly efficient so far, can provide the rest from the Republicans. Every day the Humphrey-Kuchel newsletter reports how long it took the coalition to gather a quorum. As an instance: "The quorum on Saturday was achieved within 24 minutes of the call. This was seven minutes faster than the preceding Saturday." This is like nothing so much as the invocations coaches post on lockers and they seem to have the same inspirational effect. On weekdays, the average time taken in a quorum call is down to seven minutes; it seems to be quite clear that Humphrey will not rest until he achieves the four-minute quorum. So

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we cross from this spectacle of superb condition to find an opposition ragged and tired. Senators like Hill, Russell and Stennis seem to bring genuine feeling to the resistance. But their juniors have shown almost no passion at all; no one has quite so precisely defined the strangeness of the atmosphere as did one lobbyist for the anti-civil rights bloc. "The big disappointment to me," he said, "has been Herman Talmadge. He is a truly brilliant man and he's not doing anything."

When we think of his origins and the tone he brought to the Senate, there is no other way to explain Herman Talmadge's inanition except that he is young and will live here a long time and that he accepts reality. Russell Long's newsletter last week had just five lines of routine objections to the civil rights bill, and was consumed otherwise by reports on all the free money the benevolent federals were ladling into Louisiana. We think of Hill, Russell and Stennis as the best sort of Southern Senators, always respectable and often principled men; the core of the Southern resistance has come down to them – a case, one thinks, of age resisting youth; and a cause is hardly healthy when the realistic young think of a separate peace and only the principled old think of resistance to the end.

The respectable South has fallen back, as it always does in crisis, on the poor white's reservoir of resentment and aggression; it has discovered that the Northern poor white is a resource too.

"We've Shot Our Wad"

This appeal to the poor white brother in the North has produced its ironies; anyone present in the Senate a few Saturdays back could have heard Senator Byrd warn that the FEPC clause was a threat to the union seniority and the closed shop whose sanctity has been so long a flag and a bible to this grand old syndicalist. The Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government has spent $40,000 dispatching an analysis of the civil rights bill as a depredation upon the poor to leaders of opinion around the country. The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission has contributed $225,000 to the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, which has spent it for advertisements in newspapers in states whose Senators remain open to persuasion, and for the distribution of the pamphlet "Unmasking the Civil Rights Bill" to Northern mailing lists. Since then, a number of Senators have complained of inundation by mail from little old ladies of hitherto undeviatingly Birchite persuasion, demanding that government keep its hands off the plumbers union.

Hubert Humphrey finds his mail running three to one against the bill. This has been enough to trouble a few non-Southern Senators with visions of white uprisings in their precincts. But John Synon, the Coordinating Committee's director, is content to have done even this much to discomfit the enemy; he hardly has the resources to do more. "We've shot our wad," he confesses. We live in a country with so few real changes in the trend of public opinion that there is a disposition to look too seriously upon false ones. Synon's campaign, while skillful, is hardly as formidable as its victims think: Senator Hart of Michigan, who lives in a state where, if the poor whites felt passionate, he would have as many to hear from as any other politician, reports that last week he got 204 letters from constituents in favor of the bill and only 90 against it.

Then too the resistance may have rallied its public too early. By May there will be only the spectacle of the filibuster, a process whose practice moves the passion not of a bill's opponents but of its partisans, and which risks the rousement of those civic-minded persons who are already disturbed by Congress' apparent sloth, and tend to judge the legislative process as healthy when it passes a lot of laws whatever their merits, and sick when it rejects a lot of bills whatever their demerits.

And then the National Council of Churches is spending $400,000 in missionary agitation for the bill, and by May the doubtful Senators from the little states will be hearing from the results of this campaign. And in May Russell's problems will also have moved to an area more substantive to the Southern Senators than civil rights itself. The stake by then could be the machinery of their influence and authority in the Senate. The Senate has never invoked cloture on a civil rights debate; the risks Humphrey faces in chancing a cloture vote and losing it demand of him infinite care in timing and delicacy. But a cloture vote carries worse dangers for Russell; should the South lose it, the South has lost a tradition, and it hasn't many traditions left to spare in the Senate. And if the South wins and time runs out for the civil rights bill, there will rise at the next session of the Senate a demand for reforms in procedure and a limitation on the filibuster which will make earlier attacks on Southern authority seem puny.

"Just wait," says Hubert Humphrey, "until they start hearing from the church people." Praise the Lord. While he talks, he hefts the mimeograph sheets upon which he has set forth until May the quorum call assignment days of each Senator in his company. Keep the troops disciplined and at the ready. The strongest source of the impression that the Senate will have a civil rights bill by June is the machinery of this order of battle. When a commander reaches a condition this heavily armed against surprise and this loaded with weaponry, he has won his battle already; he has the weight to overcome whole armies and no use for any of it except to mop up. MURRAY KEMPTON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOREIGN REPORTS

KENYA: *Not Quite Off with the Old*

★ Kenya is the first African country to gain independence with a sizable white settler population. There are about 50,000 Britishers living in the country. So far, there has been little outward change in Nairobi, the modern capital. It remains a typical British colonial town – even to the loud voices of the ex-military types in the clubs and bars.

Subtler changes, however, already have begun. The town's central traffic island, the hub of Nairobi, is now bare, no longer supporting the statue of the pioneer settler, Lord Delamere. The bronze figure, which symbolized the tenacity, the initiative and the daring, as well as the individuality and the capriciousness of the average moneyed immigrant from Britain who built up Kenya agriculture half a century ago, is now in storage. The vacant site awaits the statue of Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta. When it arrives from England, it will measure a foot taller than Lord Delamere's.

In the shops of Nairobi and other Kenya towns, almost all owned by immigrant traders from India and Pakistan, incense sticks still burn to ward off evil spirits and bring good luck; but, in place of the portraits of Nehru or the Aga Khan, the more far-sighted have substituted pictures of Kenyatta, wearing his beaded cap. In many Indian houses, trunks stand packed, in case African violence should force the owners to flee. The lessons of the Congo, and more recently from Zanzibar, have not been lost on Kenya's 175,000 Asians, although few of them have any desire to return to their homelands.

Once away from Nairobi, out on the vast, undulating country until recently known as the "White Highlands," the post-independence changes are more noticeable. Large numbers of the former European farms have changed hands, and in place of the 1,000-acre farms there are small units of about 50 acres – subdivisions of the larger farms, carried out against the advice of economists, who favor larger units. This intensive settlement has been the result of political pressure from hordes of Africans hungry for land, who long for even a few acres to grow subsistence crops of maize or beans.

The large numbers of the "dispossessed youth of Africa," about whom Kenyatta wrote nearly 30 years ago, present the Prime Minister with his biggest problem today. Many are extreme Leftists, covetous of the "haves" and impatient with the slowness of change since independence came to Kenya last December. Government concern at the potential threat that is posed by this sullen front of youth has been reflected in plans drawn up for combating unemployment, and forming youth corps for national service.

Despite the rapidity of "Africanization" – replacing white administrators with largely inexperienced African intellectuals fresh from universities – many of the young people are highly critical. They want to see being practiced in Kenya some of the theories they have been reading about in the propaganda pamphlets that are flown into East Africa from Moscow and Peking. But the government, anxious to make as many international friends as possible, restrains its impulses in order not to frighten away the private foreign capital that it so badly needs. Its economic policy remains a middle-of-the-road one.

First contacts with the Eastern bloc have not been as fruitful as was expected. Nevertheless, contacts are being forged. First the Russians, then the Chinese, followed by the East Germans, Yugoslavs and others, have taken up residence in Nairobi. These new arrivals have advised the Kenya government that, if it really means to be non-aligned, then things taken for granted for so long should not continue. Radio news was relayed from the British Broadcasting Corporation. The service was cut a few days after independence. The Russians eagerly came up with an offer to supply Tass news, along with the necessary receiving equipment and with Soviet technicians. The Kenya government compromised. It set up its own official news agency, took the Tass offer but signed up Britain's Reuters Agency as well. On the other hand, trouble with Somalia has forced Kenya to sign a mutual defense pact with Ethiopia, which is also at loggerheads with the Somalis. Uganda and Tanganyika are not happy with this arrangement in the context of the proposed East African Federation, for the Russians have made it known that they regard Kenya's link with Ethiopia, a country that receives liberal US military aid, as going too close to the Western camp. Nor are the Russians likely to be happy about British offers of technical and logistic aid to the Kenya army, in its operations against Somali raiding groups, in exchange for overflying and staging rights for the Royal Air Force, and port facilities for the British Navy.

SCANDINAVIA: *Cool to Khrushchev*

★ When Khrushchev visits Scandinavia this summer he is expected to revive a Soviet suggestion that Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden be declared a nuclear-free zone. Finland and Sweden are neutrals and Denmark and Norway have said they want no nuclear weapons and no foreign bases on their terri-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tory either. But Denmark and Norway are nevertheless members of NATO and the Russians are afraid that the Baltic Sea might be used by the proposed NATO multilateral nuclear force (MLF) of ships with international crews and nuclear weapons.

Khrushchev has twice visited Finland. In 1958, he was to have visited Denmark, Norway and Sweden but a storm of disapproval in the Scandinavian newspapers caused the visit to be cancelled. More recently, all three Scandinavian Prime Ministers have visited Moscow, and they reinvited Khrushchev to their countries. But this does not mean that they are ready to buy the idea of formally turning Northern Europe into a nuclear-free zone. When Finnish President Urho Kekkonen suggested a joint declaration last year, the three Scandinavians were cool. Kekkonen argued that such a declaration would entail no real change in their position but would ease tension between Russia and NATO. The Scandinavians, however, preferred to wait and see the results (so far, only the test-ban treaty) of the larger nations' disarmament talks. The Scandinavian attitude clearly disappointed Moscow: the Russians would dearly love to have some guarantee against the chance of Norway and Denmark becoming more deeply committed to NATO and, worse, having any kind of military cooperation with West Germany. So Khrushchev will probably try again.

ISRAEL: *Eshkol in Nazareth*

★ A new note was struck by Prime Minister Eshkol's recent visit to Nazareth, the major Arab center in Israel. His predecessor, David Ben-Gurion, never visited the place after it was occupied by the Israeli Army in 1948. Nazareth, a hilly town of about 40,000 inhabitants, votes mostly Communist. This is the most outspoken way for an Israeli Arab to register his hostility to the Jewish state. The fact of a new Jewish town being built on the outskirts of Arab Nazareth, weakening the predominantly Arab character of this section of Galilee, had also created tension. There are some signs that this may now begin to relax.

Eshkol promised further help to local housing schemes, and to the town's tourist trade which has increased since Pope Paul's visit to the Church of Annunciation there. The mayor of Nazareth, a Moslem, presented Eshkol with the town's keys – something that could not have happened in Ben-Gurion's time. Visiting a new Arab secondary school, Eshkol hoped that the Arab intelligentsia would find its place in the social and cultural life of the state.

The problems of Israel's Arabs are not predominantly economic. They share in the general boom of the country; their standard of living, though generally lower than that of the average Jewish citizen, is markedly higher than in the surrounding Arab countries. Their birth rate is higher than the Jewish one and higher – due to improved medical care – than in the Arab countries. But radio and television sets in Nazareth and other Arab areas are tuned to Cairo and Damascus. Until recently, the Arabs were under irksome security restrictions, whose removal Ben-Gurion feared would lead to a "second Algeria." He called a group of university teachers who signed a petition for abolition of the restrictions "fools and knaves, unsuspecting tools of Communist propaganda." Eshkol, however, abolished most of the restrictions, and instead of a "second Algeria" developing, the move became a symbol for normalization, for toning down the high-pitched atmosphere Israel lived in during all the time of Ben-Gurion's premiership.

How About It, Detroit?

by Rainer F. Meyerowitz

The US Commerce Department lists automobiles as "durable goods." I submit that this is an anachronism. The quality of steel and finish and workmanship has decreased as sharply as the prices of these four-wheeled barometers of the nation's economic health have increased. If you want proof, go to any auto junk yard, of which the US has about as many as it has new car dealers, and measure the thickness of body and chassis of old and new corpses.

When I finally had to retire my ancient station wagon because its heart was worn out, there wasn't a single spot of rust on any of its chrome, including its scratched and dented bumpers and hubcaps. The hubcaps of the brand-new 1959 pickup which I then acquired looked like giant pepper shakers four weeks after I had parted with my money.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When the 1959 pickup was 5,000 miles old, both front-wheel bearing seals gave up; the bearings themselves lasted another 5,000 miles. The tie rod ends – "lubricated for life at the factory" – had to be replaced at the 6,000-mile mark. The speedometer cable broke shortly thereafter; the rear axle oozed oil; the paint was blistering and disintegrating; the chrome fittings were a sight; and rust made its first complete breakthrough from the air intake channel below the windshield, an area that, like most of the other hard-to-reach spots, had not been painted. Finally the gas pedal fell apart.

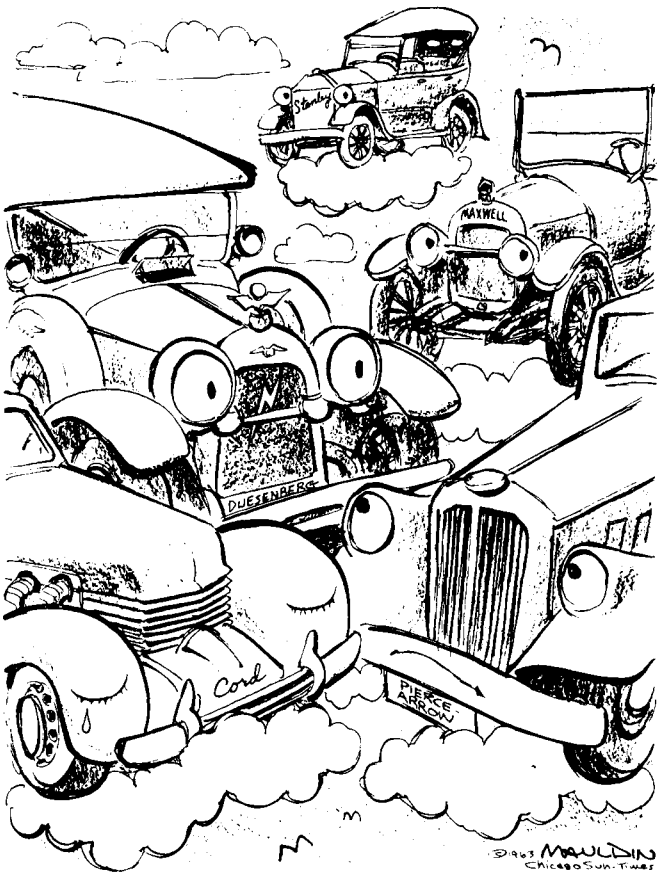
Apart from its gaudy appearance, what precisely has the car of today got that the car of 30 years ago lacked?

The roofs of sedans seem to be made of cardboard. The industry concentrates on glass with the announced intention of providing better visibility. Does a huge amount of glass around you give better vision? Dr. Dupont Guerry, an eye expert from the Medical College of Virginia, has said that wrap-around windshields are "diabolical devices from the visual standpoint, in which all basic optical principles have been completely ignored."

The time when a driver needs vision is exactly when the curved windshield lets him down. Within one minute after a heavy rain or snowfall has started (ice is even worse), 90 percent of a driver's vision is eliminated, both from outside and inside. Curved windshields fog up much more quickly than flat ones, the chief culprit being the back window. This back window becomes a total loss in a snowstorm, for snow still adheres to the law of gravity – and to slanting back windows – instead of sliding off as it did from the vertical ones of yesterday. In front of the driver, the windshield wipers on curved glass have to operate in an uneven manner that is bound to be more inefficient than when they move in one plane, as on flat glass.

Since the height of the car has diminished over the years, the seat too has become more squashed. The result might well have been devised by a frustrated designer of jackknives. This design does not exist in trucks and buses, only in cars as a sacrificial offering to the gods of style and "roadability."

Only one American vehicle is sold with a hand-crank, and yet the AAA complains that many of the calls for help it receives come from owners of new cars which have refused to start. When you turn the key to crank your starter, it comes as a surprise when you are answered by complete silence, for the modern car in most cases gives no warning that the battery is about to go on strike. This is especially true since the auto industry substituted bulbs for the former instrument needles on the dashboard. First of all, the bulb may burn out, and secondly its fading out is no guarantee that the generator is charging correctly. A correct charge, however, within very narrow limits, is of the utmost importance. If it charges too much, it will burn up one or more items in the electrical system; if it charges too little, the battery sooner or later becomes powerless to crank the starter. A bulb, of course, is much cheaper to build into a car than an instrument. But who benefited from the saving? The customer?



"Not Studebaker!"

It would be simplicity itself for auto manufacturers to have indicator lights on the instrument panel which would show you on the inside what the various lights are doing on the outside; but this would be a useful as opposed to a stylish change.

You climb into your car and bang your head on the door frame. Would we tolerate doors in our homes if their sharp corners were at eye level?

It is not too hard to think of such improvements as rustproof window channeling, a rustproof floor, a floor mat that would shed water *out* of the car instead of under the mat onto the felt padding below, where it promptly goes to work eating up the super-thin, badly-painted floors of today; an ignition switch that, in the "off" position, would automatically cut out the battery to prevent fires in parked cars; a switch to cut off the

---

Rainer F. Meyerowitz *has driven more than 200,000 miles over rugged US roads, on camping trips, and does most of his own car repairs.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

horn in case it short circuits and starts blowing. But these things would cost money; far better to spend it on longer and more ridiculous fins and fads, and then to spend still more money chopping them off again.

Since hundreds of thousands of people haul house, camp and boat trailers, it seems odd to me that many of today's cars have bumpers that are like straws compared to the bumpers of yesterday when these trailers did not exist, and that not a single car has yet rolled off the assembly lines with a factory-installed hitch, or even provision for one.

Forty thousand people are killed on our highways each year, and over a million are injured. How many could be saved by equipping cars with bumpers with telescoping compression devices? And why should the basically marvelous system of hydraulic brakes be flawed by being subject to complete and sudden failure? Both fittings and brake line should, of course, be of a non-rusting material, with a very high breaking point. There should also be a brake fluid indicator on the instrument panel, so that a leak can be spotted at once.

Headlights and taillights are doubled and tripled, put side by side and above and below and at an angle; but if a headlight burns out on a lonely road, or on a Sunday, you can't even use the parking light as an emergency light, for independent switches for these lights went out of style in the thirties. If you have trouble with the motor at night you have to do your peering with a flashlight. A light under the hood would cost the manufacturer 20 cents. The backs of the head and parking lights are directly exposed to all the mud, salt and rainwater thrown up by the front wheels. No wonder they give so much trouble. The placing of these lights *in* the fender – they used to be mounted on top or to one side – was also done in the name of style. Old-fashioned fenders were round and seamless. Today's fenders are of innumerable shapes, none of them round but all of them thin, so that rain, mud and salt find crevices galore in which to sit and rot. The back fenders are commonly part of the whole car body and have many hollow places, which are never painted, making their rapid disintegration inevitable.

Directionals are a great improvement over hand signals, but why not make their indicators audible (in some cars they are) so that one does not have to check on their operation by looking away from the road?

How simple it would be for the factory to build in a strong hook or other fastener in each corner of the roof for tying down baggage, thus making unsafe and unsightly carriers unnecessary. A built-in map compartment would be nice, so that maps wouldn't have to be crammed into a glove compartment that gets smaller every year.

Dual headlights have no advantage, but an extra battery would be useful. A straight-across windshield wiper, firmly guided so as to be immune against winds – how about it, Detroit? A defroster that keeps windshields free from ice regardless of how cold it is outside? A factory-installed towing hook on the front bumper? A rear-view mirror that would show everything behind the car that the driver should see, instead of a tiny fraction thereof? A starter that doesn't wake up the entire neighborhood in the middle of the

A Car by Any Other Name

Old Henry Ford gave you a full choice of model and color – as long as the first was a T and the second was black. Neither Ford nor the rest – Herbert Franklin, Harry Stutz, William Kissell, Jonathan Maxwell or John and Horace Dodge – worried about fancy names for models. Henry Ford's black Model T of the years 1908-1927 was followed in 1928, somewhat illogically, by the Model A. Names generally were unromantic. Stutz did put out a *Bearcat*, Pierce an *Arrow*, Mercer a *Raceabout* and Baker a *Runabout*. But most preferred just the bare bones – the manufacturer, the body type and the number of cylinders or horsepower.

A little time and a lot of motivational research have changed all this. Exotic names are meant to appeal to the Walter Mitty in all of us. The *Sting Ray, Wildcat, Tempest* and *Fury* are named to speak to the real you. If you're a swashbuckler, try *Cutlass* or *Le Sabre*.

Do you savor life at some swank seaside spa? Buy *Riviera* or *Malibu*, or, for a touch of old-line elegance, *Newport*. Are you the country squire type? The *Colony Park, Belvedere* or *Country Sedan* will serve nicely. (As hard as you work, you deserve it.) Is stock car racing for you, along with cigarettes, daring girls and shiny white crash helmets with red stripes down the middle? Think *Le Mans, Daytona* or *Bonneville*, or, "for sports car flair with luxury overtures," *Grand Prix*. (Only $39.60 per month for 36 months at low bank rates.)

Do you want to make the scene in a cosmic flash, man? Steer your *Comet* or *Meteor*, or, for a little more, have yourself an entire *Galaxie*.

Failure to heed these psychological truths can be fatal. Before it moved to Canada, Studebaker had its *Lark* and *Hawk* models. The public, refusing to buy in any profitable quantity, apparently took Studebaker's word for it that the cars were for the birds. And the ego to be nourished is the buyer's, not the seller's, a fact apparently overlooked in the now departed *Henry J* by Kaiser, and the *Edsel* by Ford.

For good or evil, this human need for instant image on the installment plan will pass. How will you know the day? Easy. When you hear of a massive sales campaign for the Chevrolet *Canarsie*, or the Buick *Bronx* or the Cadillac *Kankakee*, then you will know it has arrived. Yes, indeed, that *will* be the day.

PAUL D. LAGOMARCINO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

night? A hood that doesn't sound like a streetcar falling into a coal mine? Keyholes that you could slip a key into easily in the dark? A couple of usable tool compartments under the seat?

I think hood locks, which prevented any and every service station attendant from putting steering gear lubricant into the master cylinder while you were not looking, were a good idea. Why were they scrapped? People would go for a wheel so designed that snow chains could be installed in one minute flat – in a snowstorm. How about a little gadget which would allow you to crank the engine with electric house current on cold mornings? Many a woodsman would be willing to part with extra money for an optional winch.

I beg of you, Detroit: save all that hard-earned money you spend each year on velvety rides and tigerish engines. Our bodies could stand a few more jolts, and we could stand a considerable reduction in the tigerish aspects of our civilization. Save it, and give us something useful.

Who's Who in Asia

A Certain Verbal Esprit de Corps Is Discernible

by Jerry A. Rose

The leaders of the nations of Southeast Asia are either revolutionaries, neutralists, socialists or a mix of all three. President Sukarno of Indonesia is a socialist revolutionary neutralist. General Ne Win of Burma is a militaristic socialist neutralist. Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia is a monarchical socialist neutralist. In Laos, Prince Souvanna Phouma is a monarchical neutralist and his half-brother, Prince Souphanouvong, is a monarchical socialist revolutionary. Ho Chi Minh of Communist North Vietnam is a socialist revolutionary quasi-neutralist (in the Sino-Soviet dispute). Mao Tse-tung of Red China is, of course, a reactionary socialist revolutionary.

While there is little ideological similarity between them, a certain verbal *esprit de corps* is discernible.

"I'm a socialist," says one who is also a neutralist.

"So am I," says the socialist revolutionary.

"Well, I'm not," says a third, "I'm a neutralist."

"I am too," says the socialist.

"Then we ought to be friends," says the neutralist.

"Since you're friends with the socialist," says the revolutionary, "you might as well be *my* friend too, since *he* is."

"All right."

Convinced that they are friends, they sit down to gossip. And before very long they have found still another bond: they all dislike the United States.

The Indonesian socialist revolutionary neutralist says: "*Bung*, I will explain my reasons for disliking the US. I do not really dislike the US. It dislikes me. You see, I've got a revolution on my hands in a neighboring country, Malaysia. I've got to save Malaysia from the British imperialists – I don't care if the people did vote for Malaysia. The elections were rigged, the people misled. In my country, we don't let people vote, so they can't be misled."

"Hear! Hear!" cry the others.

"Anyway," continues the Indonesian, "the US is siding with the British in my Malaysia revolution, and has threatened to cut off my aid. Do you blame me for disliking such heavy-handed threats? After all, I didn't ask them to give me aid and they have no right to just cut it off without my permission."

"*Mon ami*," says the Cambodian monarchical socialist neutralist, "you should do what I did: threaten the US with cutting off its aid."

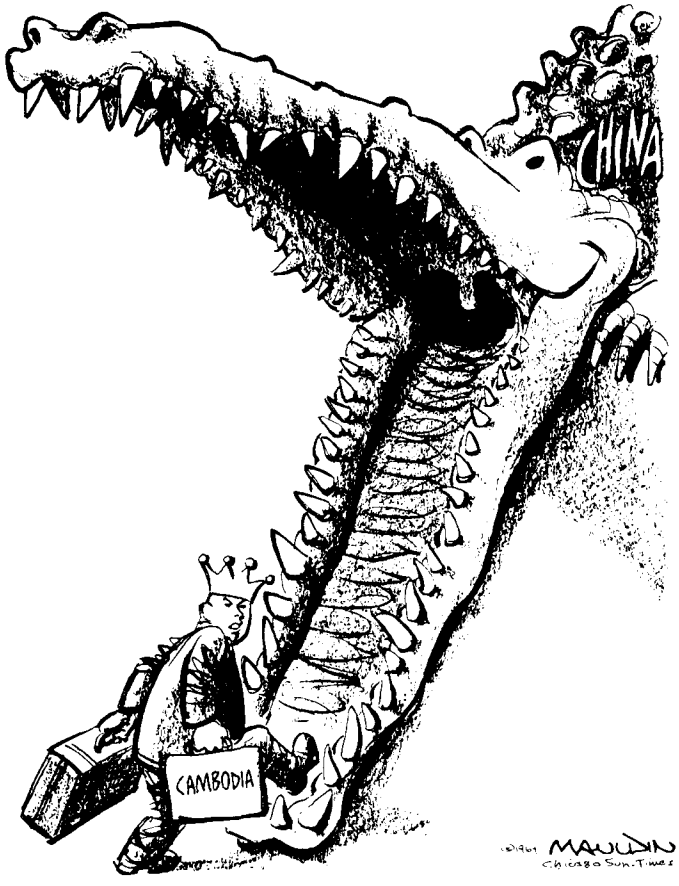
"I thought you *did* cut off your US aid," says the Indonesian.

"Yes, I did. And I set Washington into a turmoil. They're still worrying so much about it that I believe they'll agree to holding the Geneva conference on my neutrality by this spring.

"I didn't cut off my aid but I reduced it drastically," comments the militarist socialist neutralist from Burma. "The people didn't even know the difference."

Jerry A. Rose *is a correspondent for the* Saturday Evening Post.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"I'm Going Where I'll Be Appreciated."

"Why did you cut off your aid?" asks the Cambodian.

"Because I'm a neutralist and I didn't want to favor anyone. Besides, my US aid offended my friends from China. They don't get any."

Next speaks the socialist revolutionary from North Vietnam: "Like you, comrade," he says to the Indonesian, "I have a revolution on my hands in a neighboring country which is ruled by Ngo Dinh Diem and the American imperialists."

"I thought that Diem was dead," interrupts the Indonesian.

"By Jove, you're right. Anyway, the Americans are aiding whoever is in there ruling now, and it's outrageously unfair. We would have taken the area long ago but for the Americans. That's why I dislike Americans. They meddle."

"But why are *you* meddling in Laos?" asks the monarchical neutralist from Laos. "After all, you *agreed* in Geneva not to meddle in Laos, and we trusted you. Now, *you* whom we considered our closest friend, appear to be turning out our most bitter enemy. Let me hasten to add that we do not say you *are* our most bitter enemy. You simply *appear* so."

"That is unfair," replies the North Vietnamese socialist revolutionary. "It has never been *proven* that we are in Laos, has it?"

"No. But you are, aren't you?"

"It has never been proven," answers the North Vietnamese with a catlike smile. "Besides, if we *were* – notice my phrasing – we would be perfectly justified. The Americans are helping the reactionaries."

"Now let's not quarrel," says the mild-mannered reactionary socialist revolutionary from Red China. "After all, we agree unanimously that the American chicken is scratching in our backyards. Let's concentrate on the task of furthering the revolution."

The Indonesian says that his socialist revolution is going very well despite a few thousand deaths lately from starvation. However, no natural resources have been lost. Well, almost none. The rubber trees are dying, but they can always be replanted. Oil production is rising steadily. Most important, almost the whole economy has been nationalized – except for the oil companies. The oil companies are being run by the capitalistic Americans. "As for the revolution side of the revolution – which is vastly more important than the socialistic economic side," adds the Indonesian, "we are continuing our efforts against the imperialists and feudalists."

Hearing the word "feudalist," the monarchical socialist neutralist from Cambodia winces and says: "*Mon ami*, what do you *mean* by feudalist?"

"Come now, *bung*," responds the Indonesian. "You know what I mean. Down with the British, kings, queens, and all that."

"I'm a monarchist," observes the Cambodian.

"I am too," says the neutralist from Laos.

A little reluctantly, the monarchical socialist revolutionary from Laos also admits to being a monarchist.

"Come, comrades," intercedes the Chinese. "We are *all* monarchies in one way or another. The important point to recognize is that *we* are *people's* monarchies!"

Everyone agrees enthusiastically.

The Burmese relates that he, like Indonesia, has socialized just about everything, but it doesn't make very much difference because before then the military ran the economy anyway.

In a fit of frankness, the man from Cambodia admits that recent socialization has just about produced an economic disaster in his country, but he expects vast improvement within the next 30-40 years – especially after Prince Sihanouk's son takes over the reins of government. The son is studying in Peking under the personal guidance of Chou En-lai and Marshal Chen Yi. "And receiving an excellent education!" observes the Chinese.

The North Vietnamese also expects vast improvement shortly: as soon as he obtains South Vietnam's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mekong Delta rice bowl.

"With 700 million people to feed, I too have a bit of a food problem," says the Chinese. "But when you have all won your revolutions then we can all help each other!"

"Frankly," the weary monarchical neutralist from Laos says suddenly, "I'm more interested in neutralism than in socialism. I'm sick of war. After peace, you can have your socialist revolutions."

"I too am first for peace," comments the neutralist from Cambodia, "and obviously the key to peace is neutralism throughout Southeast Asia! Just like de Gaulle says!"

"De Gaulle is a good friend of ours," beams the Chinese. "After all, we neutral people who are not recognized by the US get along very well together."

"But you're not a neutralist," interjects the Laotian neutralist.

"A minor point," replies the Chinese. "We're all Asians, and most of us are socialists too."

"I'm not," says the Laotian. "I'm just a plain monarchical neutralist."

"That's too bad," says the Chinese.

"But I *too* am a monarchical neutralist!" exclaims the man from Cambodia.

"There's nothing wrong with having a socialist prince," observes the Chinese. "A socialist by any other name is still a socialist. The important thing is not *how* you carry out your socialist revolution, but that you *do* carry it out."

"You have hit the nail on the head, *bung*!" booms the Indonesian. "The important thing is revolution, revolution, revolution!"

"But if we are having revolutions all the time," says the neutralist from Laos, "how can we have a peaceful Southeast Asia?"

"With neutralism," answers the North Vietnamese, "there will be a peaceful *evolution* to socialism."

"But in Malaysia," says the Indonesian, "I think we need a revolution to get rid of the British. They will simply not evolve out."

"Once surrounded by a sea of revolutionists," murmurs the Chinese, "the British will be *revolved* out. So let's all give three cheers for de Gaulle."

Everyone cheers, except the plain monarchical neutralist from Laos.

Negro Registration in the South

The Significance for November

by Pat Watters

Since noise makes news, much of the national reporting on the South these days deals with sit-ins, stand-ins, picket lines and boycotts. But during these past 24 months something else has been happening in 11 Southern states that deserves notice. An intensive drive has been going on to budge discrimination's disenfranchisement of millions of Negroes. The campaign, on which $505,640 has been spent by the Voter Education Project, will end with the close of registration for this year's national elections.

An interim report recently released shows a net gain in the South of 327,588 Negro voters *through VEP efforts* from April 1, 1962, to December 31, 1963. In all, Negro registration at year's end was estimated at 1,751,818 – 35.2 percent of the 1960 Census' 5,016,100 Negro voting age population, and 12.2 percent of an estimated total registration in the 11 states of 14,295,426. It is expected that Negro registration will pass the two million mark in time for the November election. The NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC, and the Urban League are the national organizations participating; their personnel and those of the all-important local groups do the actual work of registration. The project has had the backing of both political parties.

If every single eligible voter – white and Negro – were registered in the 11 Southern states, Negroes would be only one-fifth of the total; and in no state is the potential Negro vote more than 50 percent of the

---

Pat Watters *is a former newspaper reporter and columnist who now works in Atlanta, Georgia, with the Southern Regional Council.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whole potential vote. It is closest in Mississippi (36 percent). Yet in a city like Atlanta where Negro registration is 51,000 out of a total registration of 182,000, the Negro vote has for many years been courted assiduously by office-seekers who appeal to the moderate, middle-class white vote. Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., a representative of the moderate element, would have lost his run-off race for mayor in 1961 had it not been for the heavy Negro support he received against a segregationist opponent. Reapportionment of Congressional districts just passed by the Georgia Legislature means that Rep. Charles Weltner – who voted against the civil rights legislation when his constituency covered three counties – will have to work hard for the Atlanta Negro support this year to carry his district, reduced now to the one county with heavy Negro registration.

This steadily increasing registration of Negroes, in combination with reapportionment and elimination of the poll tax, is bound sooner or later to have a liberalizing effect on Southern politics.

To put this development in perspective, we must note that white registration in the South has been increasing also – in most of the states at a higher numerical, if not proportionate, rate than Negro registration. In Arkansas, for example, from December, 1961, through December, 1963, white registration increased 46,856 – a nine percent gain. Negro registration increased 11,030, a gain of 15 percent. But in Louisiana, the white registration went up by 102,893, a gain of 11 percent, while the Negro vote increased 10,834, a gain of 7 percent. The Negro percentage of total registration thus actually decreased.

Estimates of registration in other states – with less exact figures as a guide – show some instances where the Negro increase was higher numerically than the white; *i.e.* Alabama, where the white increase was about 12,000 and the Negro increase was 23,000.

Like Getting Religion

How many of these Negro voters will actually vote this November? No one knows, but the director of the Voter Education Project, Wiley A. Branton, says "there is a keener interest among new Negro registrants, somewhat akin to people in the Methodist and Baptist Churches who have gotten religion for the first time. They want to be active in the church."

We do know that the Negro vote is already large enough in Tennessee and North Carolina to be a potent factor in statewide elections, and the policies of both state governments reflect it. Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina (where the Negro vote in the 1960 election was credited with making it possible for Kennedy to carry the state) are approaching this point. Only on county and municipal levels in the Black Belt do you find Negroes outnumbering whites – and in only one place so far have Negroes in recent years become a majority of the total registered. This is Macon County, Alabama (Tuskegee), and it took federal court action to accomplish it. Five Negroes have qualified as candidates this year for the county board of education, circuit clerk, justice of the peace, and board of revenue.

For many years, Negroes have been a majority of registrants in rural Charles City County of Virginia, and occasionally in Liberty County, Georgia. But the politics of both of these somnolent pockets of Southern paternalism has been under white control.

Hopelessness is one of the things that has had to be fought. In rural areas, workers have had to spend months establishing themselves and building confidence in themselves and the democratic process before the first registration could occur.

The other big obstacle has of course been against active white resistance. Homes of persons active in the voter drive have been fired into and churches where voter meetings were held have been burned in Southwest Georgia. Sheriff Z. T. (Zeke) Matthews led a group of white law officers, including the sheriff of an adjoining county, into one church in Terrell County and interrupted a voter meeting to take names of those attending, harangue them, and tell three reporters (including this writer): "We're a little fed up with this registering business. . . ." (A recent consent decree in federal court ended this 1962 case, the sheriff promising better protection for registration. County officials were already under an injunction not to interfere with registration when it occurred.)

A case in Mississippi sought to restrain registration interference by the sheriff and officers of Holmes County: a voter leader had his house set on fire and was arrested, along with SNCC workers, on charges of arson. (The case was recently dismissed in federal court on the promise of county officers to do better.)

In Louisiana, election officials in 21 parishes have been enjoined from requiring citizenship and literacy tests of Negro applicants unless all voters are re-registered. Evidence in this case included instances where Negro applicants were disqualified or purged for such things as an error of one day in the computation of the applicant's age by number of years, months and days; for misspelling the word "birth"; for putting "brown" in a blank marked "My color is . . ."; for putting "Negro" in the same blank; for leaving out a middle name; for underlining "have not" as well as crossing out "have" in a series of character statements which include: "I have not (have) given birth to an illegitimate child within five years. . . ."

Often where such tests are used, Negroes are given

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more difficult versions than whites, or Negro answers are checked more scrupulously.

In Canton, Mississippi, of more than 200 Negroes who lined up outside the Madison County Courthouse last February 28 to make application to register, exactly six were processed. The Justice Department moved quickly for an injunction demanding a speed-up to at least six applicants at a time. But Federal District Judge Harold Cox, a Kennedy appointee, was quoted by *The New York Times* at a hearing on the injunction as saying he was interested in eliminating discrimination, but not in "whether the registrar is going to give a registration test to a bunch of niggers on a voter drive."

Yet the very act of lining up to try to register was considered a major Mississippi breakthrough last year when it occurred at Greenwood. This came only after a combined effort of NAACP, CORE, SNCC and SLCC, and after a SNCC registration worker was shot in the neck by a blast from a car containing three white men. To this day, the actual registration results of the Greenwood effort, marked by arrests, some with police dogs attacking Negroes, and finally what amounted to mediation by the Justice Department, are not known.

State by State

The situation in the rest of the South is indicated by a state-by-state summary of the VEP:

Virginia – The end of the poll tax means that for federal elections, certificates of residence may be filed through May 2. In the Fourth Congressional District, the House candidacy of a prominent Negro attorney, S. W. Tucker, for the US House of Representatives will enhance registration efforts among a sizable Negro population. If there should be real opposition to Senator Harry Byrd, it would improve registration efforts statewide. During the 21 months ending December 31, Negro registration increased by 13,877. Total Negro registration at that time was 108,312, compared with 923,792 white registration.

North Carolina – White and Negro registration is already high, for Negroes, 42.4 percent of those eligible, or 11.1 percent of a total registration of 2,090,270.

South Carolina – In every county except Charleston and Richland, registration has until recently been limited to one day a month. In a few counties, like Williamsburg, of 100 Negroes who might show up to register, 25 might be processed, and of these, 15 finally accepted. Yet through December 31, VEP recorded an increase of 20,727 over the state. Some counties now allow registration for three consecutive days, and in May and August, there will be continuous periods of registration. Massive campaigns are planned up to the October 5 cut-off for the general election. Total Negro registration as of December 31 was 111,628, compared with 703,000 white.

Georgia – An early deadline (May 2) for both the primary and general elections has prompted a crash program. Negro registration stood at 221,919 in December – 36.2 percent of the eligible Negro population and 15.7 percent of the total registration, the highest proportion in any Southern state.

Florida – This is one of the least difficult areas. The 213,128 registered Negro voters in December were 45.3 percent of the eligible Negro population, and 9.9 percent of total registration.

Alabama – The only significant changes have been in Birmingham. But these have been big – approximately 1,000 new voters a month registered since last October 1. Registration has also been heavy in central Alabama. But in Black Belt areas, like Selma, where a Justice Department suit has been filed, resistance has been steady and effective. Only 90,000 (18.7 percent) of the 481,320 eligible Negroes were registered in Alabama at the end of December.

Mississippi – Out of 422,256 eligible Negroes, only 28,000 (6.6 percent) were registered as of December 31. And this figure is optimistic. It is five percent of the total registration of 553,000.

Tennessee – Here we have the highest percentage of eligible Negro voters registered, 64 percent by the end of last December. Two US Senatorial races and reasonable registration time insure further increases.

Arkansas – Elimination of the poll tax, a strong movement to make registration permanent, and the gubernatorial race (whether Faubus runs or not) will spur Negro registration. As of December, Negro registration was 80,000 or 41.5 percent of those eligible.

Louisiana – The recent Federal Appeals Court decision on administrative procedures is considered an important gain. The 21 parishes affected are mostly in the heavily Negro northeastern part of the state. A CORE drive in that area, and one planned in Shreveport, will add to the Negro totals. In December, Negro registration in the state was 162,084, or 13.5 percent of total registration.

Texas –The largest VEP gain has been made here, a total of 120,590. This figure includes some 40,000 Latin Americans and others who during 1963 were among 100,000 new registrants secured by Voters of Texas Enlist, a statewide VEP-aided effort combining Negro, labor and Mexican groups. A poll tax is still required for state elections, but free registration for federal elections was continued until March 6. As in Arkansas, this is not permanent registration, but must be renewed annually. The 300,000 registered Negroes as of December 31, 1963, were 14.8 percent of total registration, and 46.1 percent of eligible Negroes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sex and the College Girl

by Christopher Jencks

Almost all American girls go to college hoping to "fall in love," and the overwhelming majority succeed. Once you accept this simple fact, almost everything Gael Greene reports in *Sex and the College Girl* seems to follow inevitably.

Unlike some other books with similar titles, Miss Greene's inquiry strikes me as both perceptive and reliable. She has

Sex and the College Girl
by Gael Greene
(Dial; $4.95)

interviewed (apparently with extraordinary skill) more than 600 students at over 100 colleges. She reports her findings cautiously, with a keen sense that some informants exaggerate their experiences while others conceal them. She has a feel for the differences between colleges and between individuals, for the complexity of sexual motives and the diverse consequences of sexual activities. Hers is as good a book as can probably be written on the subject. But what is there to say?

Everyone knows that most college girls experience "love" sooner or later, and almost everyone is glad of it. Whether temporary or permanent, this emotion is normally accompanied by some degree of physical intimacy. Again, everyone knows this and almost everyone is glad of it. Few parents would deny their daughters a chance to be kissed goodnight outside the sorority house, or even in the drive-in movie. Still fewer would deny this to their sons. As for the young, few are even ambivalent, much less censorious. Taking their cue from college officials, popular culture, and their classmates, they accept this kind of tentative sexuality as both normal and necessary.

The difficulty, as everyone knows, is that one thing leads to another. In the back seats of automobiles hands begin to wander toward the floor, and bras begin to come unsnapped. Anxiety about collegiate sex, both among parents and their children, seems to begin at about this point. It increases as breath grows shorter, and reaches truly majestic proportions when hands begin to wander less aimlessly, and panties slip silently to the floor. What follows may or may not be enjoyable, but it invariably shocks parents, intrigues less experienced collegians, and provides moralists with another boring sermon.

How far do most college students go? Miss Greene provides no statistics – and no reliable ones exist. Various estimates suggest that anywhere from a quarter to three-quarters of the girls graduating from college are still technically virgins. A substantial fraction of these have, however, done "everything but." In some cases this means greater sexual intimacy than their parents have ever known even in marriage.

The college boy is likely either to have had sexual intercourse or to have hardly even had a date. More boys than girls seem inexperienced. Boys in residential colleges seldom date non-college girls. This means there are two men for every girl on the dating market. In addition, boys acquire social poise later. Then too, they can concentrate on physics, football or student theater as a partially acceptable "alternative" to dating, which girls can't. The boy who has no girl is only a partial failure; the girl with no boy feels herself at the uttermost extremity.

Is the anxiety provoked by college sex justified? College psychiatrists sometimes suggest that it is, emphasizing the danger of "premature" sexual involvement. They offer little evidence to support their warnings. However, a few girls, especially those who end up in bed with men who care very little for them, unquestionably suffer serious emotional setbacks as a result. So do a few boys. How often these disasters could be avoided by greater sexual restraint is anybody's guess. Many of the victims would be in trouble even if they maintained their chastity. My own impression is that sexual indulgence produces far fewer collegiate casualties than examinations, sorority rushing – or the fear of ending up an old maid.

There is, however, one conspicuous exception to this generalization. Despite diaphragms and pills, an amazing number of college girls become pregnant. As Miss Greene reports, most college girls have only the foggiest ideas about contraception, and that the ideas they have are often more dangerous than total ignorance. Boys often know little more. Even couples who have had prolonged and stable relations often know very little about reducing a risk which constantly worries them. So far as I have been able to discover, this ignorance has two causes. First, college students (like everyone else) rely mainly on word of mouth for information. Since they seldom ask doctors, most of their ideas come from friends – and most are too inexact to help. Furthermore, most college students do not really *want* to know about contraception, for they do not want to feel compelled to practice it.

Many college girls seem to regard a trip to a doctor, either for pills or diaphragm, rather as they would leaving a toothbrush in a lover's apartment. It violates their apparently still virginal sense of themselves. Such a confrontation with a doctor (and with themselves) would require explicit rejection of the morality on which they were raised, turning a covert transgression into an overt rebellion. Few girls have the courage or the wit to rethink their inherited clichés about sex, though many feel free to ignore them. The result is a double standard in which a girl's sense of propriety and of her future remains unconnected with her love-making. It is as if, by getting a doctor to fit them with a diaphragm or

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prescribe pills, their love play would be transformed from fantasy to reality, from darkness to broad daylight, from a world of romantic self-deception to a world where acts have consequences. By denying the need to do anything about their bodies while making love, the young seem to be trying to deny the need for doing anything about their psyches afterward.

Boys are not much more honest or realistic. They are less likely than girls to think sex a romantic fantasy, more likely to think it an exciting game. The net result is, however, the same, at least insofar as it affects contraception. Both views imply that sex has no consequences. If a girl chooses to play the game, boys argue, she must take responsibility for the risks involved. If she gets pregnant? Well, that is her problem. Of course many boys have the wit to see that it will not be quite so simple, and so they take the trouble to buy and use condoms.

Druggists, after all, ask fewer embarrassing questions than doctors. More important, buying a condom fits in better with a college boy's conventional self-image than buying a diaphragm or taking pills with a college girl's. Unfortunately, however, condoms don't work very well, and often the supply runs short at inconvenient and unforeseeable moments. It is then that a misunderstood version of the rhythm system or simple bravado and "spontaneity," are likely to tempt the young toward disaster. Nevertheless, the male record on contraception is probably better than the female on most campuses.

Miss Greene's findings about student attitudes toward contraception do not shake her conviction that America is undergoing a sexual revolution. They do, however, make me skeptical. A revolution, after all, cannot be furtive – or not forever. What has been accomplished in sexual mores is not a revolution, which overthrows the old order and establishes a new one in its place; all we have today is unorganized disobedience to both the law and parental commandments.

Furthermore, reading Miss Greene's chronicle I wonder whether there is more violation of official morality than a generation ago. It is probably true that more girls in the class of '64 have had sexual intercourse than would have been true in the class of '54 or '34. This may also be true among boys. It is probably also true that of those who remain technically virgins, many have been pawed and rubbed in ways that their mothers and older sisters never knew in college.

But the critical modifier is "in college." The main difference between the Class of '33, as portrayed by Mary McCarthy for example, and the Class of '63 seems to be that the Class of '33 began its great sexual safari only after graduation, when its members moved to the big city and began looking for husbands in earnest. The Class of '63 was more impatient. It reached sexual maturity younger, and planned to marry younger. So it began sexual experimentation younger – while still on the college campus. Such a change is revolutionary only from the viewpoint of a few college administrators, like poor Miss Sarah Blanding, who thought she was running a young ladies' seminary and woke up one morning to discover that some of her students were no longer waiting for graduation day to replace "the group" with "the man."

But this is only part of the story. To move pre-marital sex from New York to New Haven or Poughkeepsie is to change its quality. College students always imagine that their classmates are happier than they. If they also imagine that their classmates are sexually more experienced than they, some inevitably jump to the obvious conclusion. Sexual fantasies are more contagious on a college campus than in a big city. The result is that some college girls end up in bed – or in the back seat of a car, or in the damp spring grass – with partners for whom they have very little feeling. Sex of this kind is based less on mutual attraction than on a mutual desire to feel attractive.

Sex of this kind is an old, old story, however, even if its frequency is rising somewhat. If there is a sexual revolution afoot, it has a very different set of roots. It rests not so much on the incidence of intercourse as on the creation of an ideology to justify and limit it. There can be no "revolution" among those who steal their sex secretly in

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

"Berlitz Baedeker"

"Singer Caterina Valente refers to herself as 'a musical goulash.' Born in Paris of an Italian mother (who was educated in Russia) and an Italian father (who grew up in Sweden) she married a German juggler and now lives in Switzerland when she isn't wowing audiences on every continent. Right now, she is packing them in at New York's Persian Room, her first U. S. public appearance in eight years. Valente can say 'I only know six languages' in eleven languages."

From a recent Newsweek Music column. A glimpse of how we read these days. Have you read Newsweek lately?

Newsweek

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be."
THOMAS JEFFERSON

The Captive Press in the Third Reich

By ORON J. HALE. "With this work Professor Hale has written the definitive book on what happened to the press in Nazi Germany."—*William L. Shirer* 356 pp. $6.50

The Examined Self

Benjamin Franklin, Henry Adams, Henry James

By ROBERT F. SAYRE. Concentrating on three masterpieces of the form, Mr. Sayre examines the art and achievement of American autobiography. 250 pp. $4.75

Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy in the Caribbean, 1900-1921

By DANA G. MUNRO. A prominent scholar and former State Department official argues that U.S. security and not American business interests motivated U.S. foreign policy in the Caribbean during the early part of this century. 572 pp. $12.00

Communism and Revolution

The Strategic Uses of Political Violence

By CYRIL E. BLACK and THOMAS P. THORNTON, eds. Specialists consider how the Communists have used revolutions, what they learned from them, and what they may hope from them in the future. 480 pp. $10.00

Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey

Studies in Political Development, 3

By ROBERT E. WARD and DANKWART A. RUSTOW, eds. Sixteen contributors compare and analyze the modernization experiences of Japan and Turkey. May. 508 pp. $8.75

By Herbert Feis:

BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE: *The Potsdam Conference* (Pulitzer Prize) 375 pp. $6.50

JAPAN SUBDUED: *The Atomic Bomb and the End of the War in the Pacific* 208 pp. $4.00

Princeton University Press
PUBLISHERS OF THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

fraternity basements and parked cars; it must be worked out in a more matter-of-fact way. This seems to be happening, but not often or everywhere. The new style might, for lack of a better word, be called proto-marital. It seems to rest on two imperatives: no intercourse without contraception, and no intercourse without a semi-permanent relationship. Indeed, it differs from marriage in only two respects: there being no marriage licenses, there are none of the usual formalities and inconveniences of divorce; and there being (hopefully) no children, the end of the relationship leaves neither a mother who cannot support herself nor a child without a father.

This kind of revolt, which links sexual freedom with certain kinds of responsibility, and which replaces an old ethic with a new one, might, if it were widespread, become the basis for a true revolution. But so far it is found only among a minority of students, mostly graduates rather than undergraduates.

Like Professor Galbraith, then, Miss Greene has probably proclaimed the age of sexual affluence too soon. Like Galbraith, she is concerned that the triumph of sexual free enterprise has not ended the joyless competitiveness and neurotic self-deception characteristic of an earlier era. She reports an increase in the quantity of sex, and strongly implies that there has been no concomitant increase in quality.

My only quarrel with all this is that sex, like money, still seems to be in short supply. Some people undoubtedly have more then they know what to do with, but most don't. Miss Greene's emphasis on the sexually satisfied leads her to neglect the "case poverty" which persists around the country. What of the untouched and the untouchable? These seem to me the proper objects of concern among both parents and educators. What has the so-called revolution meant for those too homely, too disagreeable, too shy, too sheltered or too inhibited to participate in the sexual economy? My guess is that they are the real losers as campus mores change. For every suicide brought on by sexual intercourse, there are probably a dozen precipitated by lack of dates; for every psychiatric patient burdened with an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unwanted marriage or an unforgotten abortion, there are probably two suffering from the absence of invitations to such disasters. But Miss Greene says little about this side of the problem.

As colleges grow larger and more impersonal, as relations between teachers and students approximate those between a professional and a potential apprentice, as boys and girls come to feel completely lost and worthless in college, sexual relationships are one of the few props on which they can lean. The boy or girl who cannot find such personal intimacy strikes me as far more likely to end up in serious trouble than the boy or girl who finds it and fails to forsee all the consequences. If college presidents were to devote more thought to the miseries of the deprived, and less to those who may or may not suffer from sexual surfeit, they might seem less offensive to the young and less absurd to some of the rest of us.

A Future by Design

by Edward T. Chase

We are on the verge of defining some curiously non-ideological new ideology. It is not foreshadowed by passion, as this calm book bears witness, though violence is hardly any longer a stranger to our streets. The style instead is poised, alert, wary. There is gathering conviction. But there is also the uncertainty engendered by a confrontation with the complexity of a new world – and a cautionary memory of recent dangerous sentimentalities.

The Mythmakers:
An Essay on Power and Wealth
by Bernard D. Nossiter
Houghton-Mifflin; $4

Mr. Nossiter's book, a veritable "The *Real* News Of The Sixities In Review," forces these reflections. It does so not because his is an essay of bold originality. On the contrary, it does so precisely because one feels his essay is a faithful account of an emerging consensus. Mr. Nossiter is a master at reporting the exact state of our political economy. He is hardheaded on awkward factual detail, attentive to nuance, downright in disposing of sophistry and conscientious in citing the evidence that keeps the big issues still moot.

The title is a misnomer (I would bet that the publishers, coveting a Vance Packard, forced it on him). The book isn't about mythmakers, though it does deal with demagoguery and myth. It does demolish the ritualistic reporting of the Kennedy Administration's economic policy-making, specifically the notion that its animus was anti-business. Nossiter adroitly rekindles one's interest in such half-forgotten episodes as the (losing) fight over Commerce Secretary Hodges' attempt to reorganize the Business Advisory Council, the upping of short-term interest rates to meet the balance of payments deficit, and the initial sparring over wage and pricing policy. His reinterpretations fortify the view that JFK qualified for "the club of sound men," though Mr. Nossiter is perhaps insufficiently sensitive to evidence that the late President was slowly moving to positions that would have jeopardized his membership in that club during his second term. The "war on poverty" is a case in point, for its basic strategy was born under President Kennedy's aegis.

Much of the book amounts to a workmanlike summary and critique of truly original analyses (by the likes of Gardiner Means, Adolf Berle, Thurman Arnold, J. K. Galbraith and David Bazelon) of the grandaddy myth: that our blessing is our self-regulating free market system, impeccable in its benign disposal of life's fruits, thanks to the magic dispensations of consumer sovereignty and unmodified self-interest. Nossiter is a didactic writer. Occasionally his discussion is almost primerish, but never nuclear or pretentious. His commentary on the Kennedy Administration's irresolutions in the steel price fiasco, on the surrender attending the tax cut, on the pernicious impact upon the economy of autonomous corporate giants, on the rediscovery of poverty and on the disconcerting effects of pros-

46 Leading Intellectuals Discuss

THE MEANING OF THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

In a Special Issue of

Current

Yours **FREE** With Your

HALF-PRICE

Trial Subscription

MAXIMUM INFORMATION IN MINIMUM TIME

From hundreds of important periodicals, books, scholarly journals, government and foundation reports CURRENT Magazine extracts and reprints the fresh ideas . . . the new knowledge . . . the lucid interpretations concerning the vital issues of the day—and presents them to you in a unified, organized pattern. Each month you get a maximum of significant information in a minimum of time.

HIGH PRAISE FROM DISTINGUISHED READERS

"Current fills a vital part of the 'information gap' which constitutes such a grave weakness in our democratic system."
Chester Bowles

"Current is indispensable to a busy man who is interested in the very newest writing about society and its problems."
Paul G. Hoffman

"Current is unique in its coverage of contemporary ideas and issues."
John W. Gardner

"I am constantly delighted with the magazine, which performs its role with exceptional discernment and intelligence."
August Heckscher

"An absolutely essential service for all of us who are concerned about pubic affairs."
Mark Ethridge

▼ MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY ▼

CURRENT, Dept. N2, 905 Madison Ave. New York, N. Y. 10021

Please send me the next 6 months of Current for $2.00 (regular rate $8 per year) plus the special FREE issue on President Kennedy.

☐ $2.00 Enclosed ☐ Bill me

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pective disarmament is penetrating and unfailingly sharp.

Somehow, though, all this seems simply a stage setting for Nossiter's real preoccupation – how to direct our collective destiny by the dictates of reason and stay free, which is to say, how to *plan*. This is the subject of his concluding chapter. It is the book's most ambitious by far and merits the greatest attention.

In his no-nonsense way, Nossiter describes the latest instrumentalities for carrying out what Walter Lippmann recently called "the revolutionary idea" of this generation. "The world does move, and there is no better proof of it than this war on poverty," wrote Lippmann. "In this generation . . . a revolutionary idea has taken hold in the advanced countries of the world. The size of the pie to be divided can be increased by invention, organization, capital investment and fiscal policy, and then a whole society, not just one part of it, will grow richer. This revolutionary idea, which has been discovered, tested, and demonstrated in this century, is at work in every industrial society, regardless of its basic doctrine and ideology. It is transforming also socialism and Communism as well."

Nossiter goes to the details behind Mr. Lippmann's generalizations. With tempered enthusiasm, he tells how highly industrialized, democratic nations, France and Norway for example, are shaping their economic destinies by "indicative" (noncoercive) planning. That they are successful at it is well known. Nossiter's contribution is to supply a popular outline of how this is done, something as yet little understood in the United States.

"Attempts are being made to integrate and make coherent the plans of the major economic decision makers. This new phenomenon, an unexpected triumph of gradualism, is a sophisticated synthesis of private enterprise and, in greater or less degree, democratic planning," writes Nossiter. "The new technique is an attempt to make rational collective choices about the future by confronting alternative claims on resources with a nation's probability to produce."

To develop a "Plan" for, say, five years ahead, government economists select an economic growth rate based on labor force growth and productivity growth. A statistical projection is made of consumption and investment in the main areas of both the private and public sectors of the economy. Key representatives of industry, labor, farmers, consumers and of government agencies that affect the economy scrutinize and correct these broad projections. Then, in each major industry, leaders study these corrected projections in terms of their specific industries. "The projections of the individual industries are then reconciled; bottlenecks are spotted; inconsistencies are, hopefully, eliminated. A new picture or model of the future economy is then drawn up. Government tax, trade, subsidy and other policies needed to achieve the targets are tentatively mapped out. The projection is given final shape by the nation's cabinet and sent to the legislature for debate."

Why does it work? Writes Nossiter: "Collaborative forecasts, reinforced by the government's commitment to full employment and growth, encourage businessmen to believe that there will be an increasing demand for their products. Secure in the knowledge that key firms are acting on more or less the same assumptions of growth, convinced that the projections have a degree of realism and consistency that would not exist if each firm made its own separate projection, French businessmen have become much more willing to invest in expanded capacity and modern equipment. This willingness, supported by the state, tends to be self-justifying. For the very act of increased investment increases incomes and productivity, thereby creating faster growth."

Leverage is further exerted by strong inducement if not by command. In France, and in other democratic countries, the government directly invests public funds in some private enterprises and invests indirectly by controlling the lending policies of the nationalized banks. Also in France a substantially large enough portion of the economy is owned by the state (Renault, insurance companies, gas, electricity, communications, transportation) so that "if these enterprises alone ad-

A piece of the action from Newsweek:

"Stickler"

"For two days last week, top officials of the European Common Market hit all the high spots of the Washington scene. There was a lunch at Blair House, a dinner at the Belgian Embassy, and another lunch in the Madison Room of the State Department, which commands the city's best view of the Potomac. No matter what the conversational hors d'oeuvres and garnishes, the solid main course was food —the cutting of tariffs on agricultural products traded between the U. S. and the Common Market . . ."

From a recent Newsweek story.
A glimpse of how we read these days.
Have you read Newsweek lately?

Newsweek

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Price of a Principle...

"I undertook to join with others to effect a change in public law. I claim no special merit for this fact. There simply came upon me unresolved feelings of guilt, and weariness with words without works. I had to stand up and be counted."

Rev. Prof. Joseph Sittler, Chairman of the National Committee for Repeal of the McCarran Act and Professor of Theology at the University of Chicago

A LETTER TO MY FELLOW THEOLOGIANS, PASTORS, RABBIS, PRIESTS, CHURCHMEN—AND ALL AND SUNDRY OTHERS WHO AFFIRM THAT THERE IS RELATION BETWEEN FAITH IN GOD'S WILL TO HUMAN FREEDOM IN HIM—AND THE REALITIES OF PUBLIC ORDER—

Somewhat less than a year ago I began to make a concrete transfer within my vocation as a *teacher* of the above affirmation. I undertook to join with others to effect a change in public law. I claim no special merit for this fact. There simply came upon me unresolved feelings of guilt, and weariness with words without works. I had to stand up and be counted.

The McCarran Act has provided me with a clear and concrete handle to get ahold of. Its provisions are not only defiant of the presuppositions of our common life in this Republic; they exude a spirit and disclose a base kind of fear of freedom and mistrust of one's fellow-countrymen that both revolt me as a citizen and frighten me as a believer in the holy character of man's creative freedom in the sovereignty of the Creator.

There is a living connection between the given grace of man's freedom open toward a future in God's will, and bold trust in man's desire for corporate ability to form the human community towards justice and the good. And that conviction has had no small part in the formation of the basic ideas structured into our American Constitution and informing of its ethos.

In large and justly celebrated statements this conviction has been designated: in John Courtney Murray's *We Hold These Truths;* in the Encyclical *Mater et Magistra;* in Sidney Mead's *The Lively Experiment;* in several of Abraham Heschel's many volumes, and in many many if the most profound products of the Judaeo-Christian tradition in American letters.

But the generality of persons in our religious communities have never heard about nor been called upon to ponder this connection between grace and order; and if your life is as occupied as mine is with study and daily operational activity within your particular community, you have probably not done more than I to illuminate that ignorance.

I have written an introduction to a booklet about the McCarran Act in which I try to specify the peril, civil and moral, that the Act contains and threatens.

If you feel and think the way I do about this Act and if your own feelings about your role, and impatience with your inadequate performance of it is as acute as my own—will you do what you can to:

a) take whatever action is possible and promising within the structore of your own religious community to get motion from faith to form, from order-in-God to order among men—and suggest that an Act of the magnitude of the McCarran Act is a body of legislation particularly adapted for common folk to study.

b) bring the concern and work of this Committee, and this booklet, to the attention of such Boards and Agencies of your community as might find it useful for the common life of parish or synagogue.

c) and inasmuch as this Act is at the legislative center of a disturbing and wide shift from constitutive American convictions about a free society, and provides a general context for decision about matters at present in delicate balance—do all you can to make religious faith and moral action concrete in the formation of a public mind that shall cherish civil liberty.

Joseph Sittler, Chairman
National Committee for Repeal of the McCarran Act

National Committee For Repeal of the McCarran Act

Officers:

Chairman: Rev. Prof. Joseph Sittler; Vice Chairmen: Bishop Edgar A. Love, Dr. Harold C. Urey; Hon. Chairman: Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn

National Executive Committee: *Dr. Natalie Alexander, Miss Jessie Binford, Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, Prof. Stanton Ling Davis, Frank Donner, Patrick E. Gorman, Prof. Robert J. Havighurst, Prof. Mark De W. Howe, Samuel N. Katzin, O. A. Knight, Prof. Clyde Miller, Rev. Richard Morford, Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, Prof. Howard L. Parsons, Prof. Dale Pontius, Prof. Theodor Rosebury, Frank Rosenblum, Miss Olive Van Horn, Prof. Urban G. Whitaker, Mrs. Lillian Berman, Executive Secretary.*

National Advisory Council* *August Scholle, Prof. Malcolm Sharp, Prof. Roger L. Shinn, Dr. George Shuster, Prof. Mulford Q. Sibley, Margaret T. Simkin, Gordon Sherman, Prof. Rockwell C. Smith, Dr. Edward J. Sparling, Dr. Benjamin Spock, R. Denison Stewart, Rev. Alfred W. Swan, Dr. Harold Taylor, Prof. Author Tuden, Rabbi Jacob Weinstein, Dr. Park J. White, Prof. Bertram E. Wilcox, Prof. H. H. Wilson, Prof. Benjamin E. Youngdahl, Prof. James Luther Adams, Taylor Adams, Harry Barnard, Prof. Stringfellow Barr, Nelson Bengston, Dr. Walter Bergman, Dr. Daniel Berman, Prof. Edmond Cahn, Prof. Thomas S. Checkley, Earl B. Dickerson, Prof. Norman Dorsen, Prof. Hans Albert Einstein, Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, W. H. Ferry, Prof. Harrop Freeman, Prof. Mitchell Franklin, Dr. Erich Fromm, Rabbi Roland Gittelsohn, Rabbi Robert E. Goldburg, Prof. Harry Grundfest, Gen. Hugh B. Hester, U.S. Army (Retired), Prof. William Ernst Hocking, Prof. Earl S. Johnson, Sidney D. Josephs, Prof. Horace M. Kallen, Milton Mayer, Rabbi Uri Miller, Jessica Mitford, Prof. Philip Morrison, Lewis Mumford, Prof. Roger Ortmayer, Prof. Sidney M. Peck, Prof. Melba Phillips, Clarence Pickett, Prof. Ralph S. Rice, Prof. William G. Rice, Prof. Paul A. Schilpp, Oscar Steiner, Bishop Lloyd C. Wicke.*

**Partial listing.*

WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT THE McCARRAN ACT?*

The McCarran Act (Internal Security Act) is inconsistent with the dynamics of American democracy. It constitutes a deep and direct, a subtle and broad attack upon our traditional concepts of a free society. In the name of the immediate, it washes away the foundations of the long established. In the name of security, it chisels away freedom.

Other issues are more immediate and dramatic. None is so deep a thrust into vital forms of our American freedom and the values of our common life.

The threat here is great, deep-down, enormous in its power and broad in its potential ultilization.

Unfortunately many otherwise well informed persons know very little about this Act. Order your copy now of WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT THE McCARRAN ACT. STUDY it, and if you feel the way we do, will you help us bring the concern and work of this Committee to the attention of our own community?

National Committee For Repeal of the McCarran Act
431 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605

☐ Enclosed is $.50 for your pamphlet

☐ My donation for the work of your committee

☐ I wish to help in your program

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip Code_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

let her love you

VENUS PERALTA, FILIPINA, AGE 4. One of five children. Father dead. Mother earns about 50c a day. Sells fish in market. Lives in one-room shack in squatter area. Roof rusty galvanized tin salvaged from cans. Walls scraps of firewood. Cooking and washing done in lean-to. Children ragged. Main food source sweet potato patch. Privation acute. Mother sickened with despair for children. Help to Venus means help to whole family.

You or your group can become a Foster Parent of a needy child. You will be sent the case history and photo of your "adopted" child and letters from the child himself. Correspondence is translated by PLAN. The child knows who you are. At once he is touched by love and a sense of belonging. Your pledge provides new clothing, blankets, food packages, education and medical care, as well as a cash grant of $8.00 every month. Each child receives full measure of material aid from your contribution. Distribution of goods is supervised by PLAN staff and is insured against loss in every country where PLAN operates. **Help in the responsible way. "Adopt" a child through Foster Parents Plan. Let some child love you.**

PLAN is a non-political, non-profit, non-sectarian, government-approved, independent relief organization, registered under No. VFA019 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the United States Government and filed with the National Information Bureau in New York City. **We eagerly offer our financial statement on request because we are so proud of the handling of our funds.** PLAN helps children in Italy, Greece, South Korea, Viet Nam, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Colombia and Ecuador. © 1963 FPP, Inc.

Foster Parents' Plan, Inc.

352 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010 • FOUNDED 1937

PARTIAL LIST of SPONSORS and FOSTER PARENTS

Steve Allen
Sen. Paul H. Douglas
Helen Hayes
Dr. John Haynes Holmes
C. D. Jackson
Sen. Jacob K. Javits
Garry Moore
Edward R. Murrow
Mary Pickford
Dr. Howard A. Rusk
Mr. & Mrs. Robert W. Sarnoff
Sen. John G. Tower
Loretta Young

FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN, INC. NR-4-64
352 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10010
In Canada: P.O. Box 65, Sta. B, Montreal, Que.

A. I wish to become a Foster Parent of a needy child for one year or more. If possible, sex....., age....., nationality.....

I will pay $15 a month for one year or more ($180 per year). Payment will be monthly ☐, quarterly ☐, semi-annually ☐, annually ☐.

I enclose herewith my first payment $.....

B. I cannot "adopt" a child, but I would like to help a child by contributing $.....

Name.....

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

Date..... Contributions are Income Tax deductible.

here to the plan, they increase the prospect that it will be fulfilled."

It would be a mistake to interpret French and European planning as wholly animated by the vision of material growth, an impression Nossiter's swift outline may convey. This is made clear in a remarkable new book called *Economic Planning In France* by John and Anne-Marie Hackett (Harvard University Press). "A fast rate of economic growth is still the dominant preoccupation of the French Plan," write the Hacketts. "But to center the analysis on growth is to risk missing some of the most significant contemporary trends in the whole experiment." They go on to say, "French planners were Galbraithians before the term acquired the resonance it has since come to possess.... On the whole the French planners were, and are, sincerely perturbed by the direction taken by the spontaneous growth of demand in the mass consumption society which is rapidly appearing in France. The idea behind the [new] Plan is substantially to increase consumption of *collective goods and services.*" (Italics added).

When, at the conclusion of his essay Nossiter turns to the United States, he demonstrates that we have already had a greater degree of federal intervention in economic affairs than is generally appreciated, but it is piecemeal and incoherent. Ironically, the French learned much about how to plan by having research teams study American economic mobilization during World War II. Postwar reconstruction was the catalyst for European planning and there is a persuasive school of thought that in the US the catalyst will be readjustment to the dislocations of disarmament; or that our hand will be forced by automation, radically reducing the needed labor force, and bolstered further by a civil rights movement among minorities made desperate by unemployment.

Nossiter is not exactly sanguine about the United States experimenting right away with indicative planning, yet he does make an effective case for the federal government – the Council of Economic Advisers would be the agency – to experiment much more ambitiously than it has with the input-output technique devised by Harvard economist Wassily W. Leontief. The technique

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is too complex to describe here, but there is no question, for example, that an ambitious, comprehensive input-output analysis could be used to demonstrate (dramatize would be better) how government measures can offset fall-offs in private spending so as to create X number of jobs.

For all its moderation, there is an undertone of indignation in this book. It is an ever more widely shared indignation that we are still immobilized by the false homilies of those discredited seers, the businessmen. So now a fifth of the nation must be rescued by extraordinary intercessions (work camps, domestic Peace Corps, etc.), not by the normal workings of a rational economic order. The ideology around the bend can be perceived at least in its outlines. It is a fresh commitment to the proposition that we now have the tools to make social and economic opportunity a matter of design, not chance, and that this can make men free as they seldom have been.

ART

Religious but Anticlerical

In an interview in *Realités* in 1962, Alfred Manessier said, "I am fundamentally a religious painter – religious but anticlerical."

It is to the great impoverishment of American intellectual and artistic life that that distinction has been so little known among us – at least until quite recently. At a certain age – anywhere from 13 to 40 – most Americans in these lines of work had reached the conclusion that most clerics are clods; certainly on the basis of the most readily available evidence, the conclusion was justified not to say inescapable. The trouble is, that many artists and intellectuals have leapt from that to another, namely that the religious heritage of the race is hardly worth the serious attention of a serious mind, with the exception of the prose style in the King James Version. Oddly enough, we do not behave this way with things of theoretically less importance. However sleekly David Merrick may flourish, however fat Essandess may wax, it never occurs to the melancholy observer that theater and literature are the opium of the people; but let a poor curate be caught presiding at a Rotary lunch or a strawberry festival and we know in our hearts there is no God. Europeans do not as readily fall into this error. They leave the question of God an open one and leave themselves eligible for Manessier's distinction. Ten years ago, in a statement made for the Museum of Modern Art's New Decade exhibition of post-war European art, Manessier recalled the question of the aged Cézanne, "Could art be a priesthood?" In the decade since then, Manessier himself has found his own answer, a strong affirmative. In demonstration, the Phillips Collection, in Washington, D. C., has assembled a brilliant exhibition of his recent work, two dozen major paintings of the last three years.

At the time of the Museum of Modern Art's New Decade show in 1955, Manessier was already painting religious subjects in a fairly advanced abstract manner, basically the same as the one he used in "secular" subjects. I recall, for example, two beautiful paintings on the same theme, "Games in the Snow," one at Carnegie, one in the Zadok Collection. In both, block horizontal bars with open spaces were laid over a white ground. Over white and under black appeared three or four solid areas of red-orange. The black became shadows, footpaths, houses and bridges; the red-orange areas were winter suns. The same degree of abstraction could have been seen in the Zadok's "Figure of Piety," a monumental image of split lights and split heads brought again together in a darkly glowing surface of blues and purples. Eyes could be made out in the forms, so could noses and necks, even a crown. In art history the only reference discernible was to Justinian and his retinue of overlapping figures, but

WHERE IS THAT BOOK?

Don't fret—We can get any out-of-print books you need, and fast. Our Book-Lures hunt out all your wanted book lore. Free world-wide search. Send your lists to—

BOOK-LURES
P.O. BOX 422-R
CALDWELL, NEW JERSEY

333 EUROPEAN HOTELS

140 cities, 29 countries covered in handy list of excellent, inexpensive hotels. Prices, Addresses.

BON VOYAGE $1.
Box 24684NR
Los Angeles 24, Calif.

FREE!
with trial subscription, the current issue of
Commentary
the distinguished independent journal of thought and opinion sponsored as a public service by the American Jewish Committee.

The current issue includes:

THE REVOLT AGAINST IDEOLOGY: A critique of current modes of political thinking by the distinguished Harvard philosopher, Henry David Aiken.

INTERMARRIAGE AND THE JEWISH FUTURE by Marshall Sklare.

ON BEING A SOUTHERN LIBERAL: A candid autobiographical statement by Ronnie Dugger, the controversial young editor of the *Texas Observer*.

If not pleased with free issue let us know and your subscription will be cancelled. Trial offer for new subscribers only.

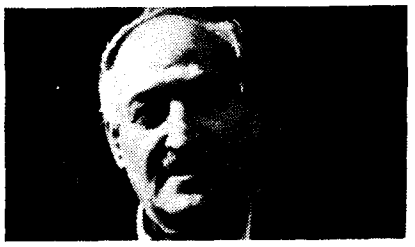
COMMENTARY, Dept. NR-20
165 East 56th St., New York, N. Y. 10022

Please send, free, the current issue of COMMENTARY. In addition, enter my name for an 8-month trial subscription for $2.70. I may cancel after first free issue and you will send no bill.

Name_____
Address_____
City/Zone_____ State_____

☐ EXTRA ISSUE! Enclose $2.70 now and we will extend your subscription to 9 months. Same cancellation with full refund.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



EDWARD DAHLBERG'S
AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Because I Was Flesh

is a testament of American experience, the story of a young man's search for identity, and of an extraordinary woman, Dahlberg's mother, the lady barber of Kansas City.

"A masterpiece — for its hair-raising honesty, profound self-knowledge, and elegance of style." —ALLEN TATE

"A great achievement. The magnificent portrait of Dahlberg's mother is as relentless, as detailed, as loving as a late Rembrandt." —SIR HERBERT READ

"The book is a double triumph. It combines a set of unforgettable portraits with a story that is as compelling as it is candid." —LOUIS UNTERMEYER

$5.00

A NEW DIRECTIONS BOOK
333 Sixth Avenue, New York City 14

Negro Digest

is not a "Digest" at all

The magazine is the mirror of the awakened Negro

Each month, the long-silenced voices of Negro writers are raised in protest and warning; long-neglected painters and other graphic artists are featured with their work; long-ignored poets are provided a platform; and the subtle arts of satire and self-criticism, at long last, are released to do their work.

Together with such well-known writers as James Baldwin, John A. Williams and William Melvin Kelley, talented newcomers speak out in the pages of NEGRO DIGEST. To know what today's Negroes are thinking, feeling and saying, try a year's subscription to NEGRO DIGEST.

NEGRO DIGEST, 1820 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago 16

Enter my one year subscription to NEGRO DIGEST at special introductory rate of $4. Payment enclosed. (Add $1 for Canada, Pan America subscription, $2 foreign.)

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone .....

State .....

with all the morally dubious intensity purged out of those gangsters on the wall in Ravenna. In both pictures, the fundamental structure was late Cubism, especially in the "Figure of Piety."

In the show at the Phillips, all that has changed. There is no lingering trace of Cubism and the elegant restraint of the thin surfaces has vanished. So, for that matter, has the restraint of size. The "Figure of Piety" was monumental at five feet high. One picture in the new show, "Offering of the Earth," is almost ten and a half.

Yet, unlike a lot of American paintings of similar size, Manessier's are neither a simple sign of some kind adrift in a lot of empty canvas nor the endless repetition of simple motives, a repetition limited in its extent only by the size of the canvas available. There is total composition, with every small area related to a section related in turn to a major part which is related to the whole. The coloring is much more complex now than in the early fifties, the structure much more free; yet unity is more intense because it derives more clearly from the whole experience of the artist not only in the celebrated "act of painting," but also in the less well remembered act of contemplation. Duncan Phillips and his wife have been engaged in assembling the show for about two years, working closely with Manessier on it. The result is that the exhibition is not a series of pictures, but a large, varied, visual thing in itself, a meditation upon the spring mystery of the Christian religion, the death and resurrection of Christ.

The setting of spring is established by a number of the pictures, including the one mentioned, "Offering of the Earth," in which vertical forms seem to grow before your eyes toward heaven. Then there is a pair: "Turbulence of Springtime" suggests a rugged mountain-top with visible wind rushing over it in spirals and pinwheels and clouds edged with sunlight. The colors are those of the old "Games in the Snow" pictures, but the whole spirit has changed; especially in the new dominance of the suns whirling past the mountain; "Signs of Easter," identical in size, changes the colors to the purple, yellow and green that mean approaching Easter, in the Christian liturgy as in the five-and-ten, and changes the form to a turbulent flux that includes the mountain as well as the sky.

The same sequential transformation of abstract but suggestive forms takes place in a group of three: "Sap" in color suggests the brightness of the liquid life that rises in the trees in spring, and the brightness outlines a circular center like a tree's cross section; *"Et Gloriam Vidi Resurgentis"* uses the same elements, a circle in the midst of color-flux, but it now seems a rising sun; finally, "Easter Alleluia" is in dominant purple, with the brightness more vivid and the sun occupying more of the space.

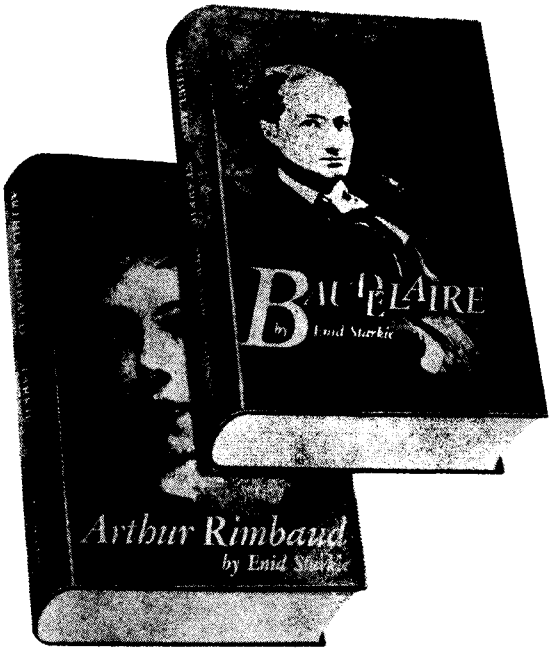
But it is the Passion of Christ that is the center of the show, and the center of that is the image on Veronica's veil. The flux of color in some of the pictures remind you faintly of Manessier's old associate, Bazaine, but the image on the veil, which appears in a series of works culminating in an enormous triptych with predella beneath, links Manessier to his revered predecessor as a religious but anticlerical artist, Georges Rouault. Rouault, too, was preoccupied with the face imprinted on the veil; many of his paintings thought at first sight to be the face of Christ turn out to be the print of that face on the cloth of the woman of Jerusalem. One implication is that of the face of God imprinted upon an act of human compassion. Another is a degree of removal from direct experience of the divine, something like the Old Testament use of "Adonai" in place of the divine name, but perhaps also signifying a modern feeling of distance from religious reality.

In any case, the distance is greater in the younger artist then in the older, and the luminous quality of the divine more shining. The features are indicated in the broadest of strokes. The eyes are only great shadows in the triptych and the head is immersed in a shimmering darkness that radiates outward. The radiation is taken up by the two wings which yet suggest a protective, hovering compassion toward the central image.

Substantial views of Manessier's painting have been hard to come by in this country; it is greatly to be hoped that the profound essay in exaltation at the Phillips gets a wide circulation.

FRANK GETLEIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



FOR EXAMPLE:

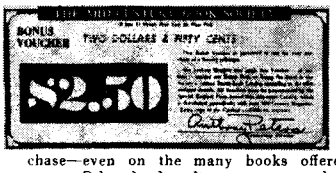
☐ **938. RIMBAUD and BAUDELAIRE** ***by Enid Starkie.*** **These *two* separate books—sensationally illuminating biographies of "the passionate poets"—count as only *one* free book under this offer. Enid Starkie has brilliantly recreated both the morbid delights and fearful sorrows of tortured geniuses whose lives were even more intriguing than their so-often condemned works: *Baudelaire* who, besides poet, was both dandy and drug addict; *Rimbaud* who, besides sensitive aesthete, was a successful slave trader and super-debauchée.**

COMBINED RETAIL PRICE $20.00

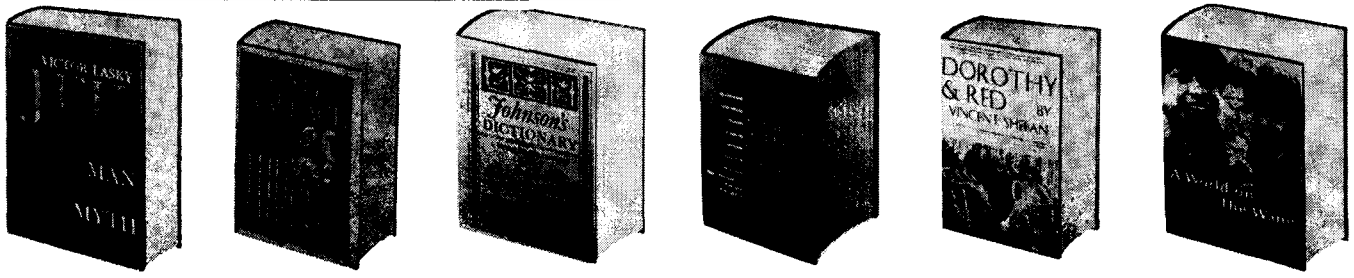
ANY 3 BOOKS FREE

As a special introductory offer we will give you—

- **ANY 3 BOOKS FREE**—even if one of your 3 choices is this extraordinary $20 set, which counts as only one book!
- **PLUS 1 OR MORE OTHER BOOKS** for a special new-member price—only $2.95 each *regardless of regular retail prices up to $10 and more!*
- **PLUS $2.50 BONUS VOUCHER** for each and every book you buy later. These $2.50 *Bonus Vouchers*—which may be applied immediately, at any time, toward other books of your choice—are given *in addition* to massive *outright discounts* on books offered by The Mid-Century Book Society, which has been called "America's most rewarding book club." You receive at least one $2.50 Voucher for each purchase—even on the many books offered to members in the low $3 to $5 range. Other books often earn *more* than one voucher.



- **SAVE UP TO 90% NOW.** New readers may thus save up to 90% *now*—by joining the Society *at this time*. While you need take only one book at the introductory *extra-discount price*, the more you take the more you save.
- **CANCELLATION.** *Either*—return all these books after 2 weeks' free examination, without cost or obligation. *Or*—take only two more books during the coming year out of hundreds to be offered.
- **THE MID-CENTURY MAGAZINE FREE,** bringing you advance reviews of new books published each month—with informed recommendations of books to both read *& keep* [no fall-apart paperbacks] in every subject-category—books for pleasure, profit, reference . . . for the many interests, needs and appetites of America's "New Renaissance" readers . . . the best *novels, non-fiction, reference works, biographies, art books, histories*—and many more.
- **PROFIT SHARING:** Because the Society can order books in large quantities, it shares profits with members through sensationally *lower prices* plus the *Bonus Book Vouchers*. Members can thus buy first-run books—in publishers' regular cloth-bound editions for their permanent libraries [not cardboard-bound "cheapies"]—for less than throw-away paperbacks cost!
- **BECAUSE** many of the books offered in this announcement are in short supply, **fulfillment of this offer can only be guaranteed for 30 days.** ***Please, therefore, enter all your choices by number on the Request Form—and mail without delay.***



PLEASE ORDER BY NUMBER

☐ **257. DOROTHY AND RED by Vincent Sheean.** ". . . the frankest revelation of a marriage ever published." Here is a love story, told largely in their own intimate letters, which is also something of a mystery story, a tragedy and a comedy—a multi-drama in which Sinclair Lewis and Dorothy Thompson play themselves. **Retail $6.95.**

☐ **251. WOMEN by John P. Lundin.** This joyful "confession" of a modern man's lascivious relationships with 10 women puts to shame the memoirs of Casanova and Frank Harris. **Retail $6.50.**

☐ **149. A WORLD ON THE WANE.** Perhaps the most remarkable work ever published on a sexually-uninhibited primitive culture. Includes 116 revealing photographs and drawings **Retail $12.50.**

☐ **252. J. F. K. The controversial best-seller by Victor Lasky. Retail $7.95.**

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORDS

☐ **53. ORIGINS by Eric Partridge.** The most comprehensive encyclopedia-dictionary in 53 years of words and their origins. 12,000 alphabetized sections [including definitions and foreign equivalents] in 1,300,000 words; 970 pages. **Retail $16.00.**

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO and THE CONQUEST OF PERU

☐ 916. **William H. Prescott's** immortal histories of Cortes and Pizarro in a **complete and unabridged one volume** edition. This story of the small bands of **conquistadores** in Mexico and Peru is one of the most dramatic narratives of all time. 1288 pp., fully indexed. **Retail $12.50.**

☐ **908. THE DOUGHBOYS: The Story of The AEF [1917-18] by L. Stallings. 102 B & W & 134 full-color illus. Retail $7.95.**

☐ **132. DICTIONARY OF SLANG & UNCONVENTIONAL ENGLISH by Eric Partridge.** Defines the "secret" words not in regular dictionaries, including argot, cant and four-letter words. The new revised and enlarged 5th edition—**1,376 pp. 50,000 definitions totaling 1,400,000 words. 9½ x 7 x 2½ inches. Retail $16.**

☐ **161. THE DECLINE OF THE WEST by Spengler. Retail $6.95.**

☐ **965. LORD OF THE FLIES by W. Golding and THE PETTY DEMON by F. Sologub.** [2-book set; counts as 1 bk.] **Comb. Ret. $9.95.**

☐ **225. THE THREE SIRENS by Irving Wallace.** The new best-seller by the author of **The Chapman Report** and **The Prize.** Neurotic American scientists on a lush Pacific island bombard traditional attitudes towards sex. **Retail $5.95.**

☐ **125F. GREAT FRENCH SHORT NOVELS ed. by F. Dupee. Retail $7.50.**

☐ **192. THE "JOSEPH" TETRALOGY.** 4 complete novels oof Thos Mann. **Retail $8.50.**

☐ **915. THE LAST OF THE INCAS by Hyams & Ordish. Illus. Retail $6.00.**

☐ **207. THE CRADLE OF EROTICA.** A close scrunity of the unusual and unrestrained sexual practices of Afro-Asian peoples as evidenced in their own literature [which is copiously quoted]. Shedding, as it does, bright new light on the meaning of "normal" vs. "abnormal," there is no comparable work in existence. **Retail $9.50.**

☐ **162. CAUTIONARY VERSES by Hilaire Belloc. Retail $6.00.**

☐ **993. JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY:** A Modern Selection from the most famous and most wickedly personal dictionary of all time. A delight to read and browse. **Retail $6.50.**

SEND NO MONEY

REQUEST FORM

NR-57

Mail to: The Mid-Century Book Society, 115 East 31st Street, N. Y. 16, N. Y.

Enroll me as a trial member and send me the 3 FREE books indicated below—charging me only for the one or more other books ordered at the special new-member price of only $2.95 each.

My only obligation is to buy two future selections during the coming year from the 100 or more to be offered at average savings of 50% under the publishers' retail prices. Over and above outright Discounts, I am to receive at least one $2.50 Bonus Book Voucher with each book purchased.

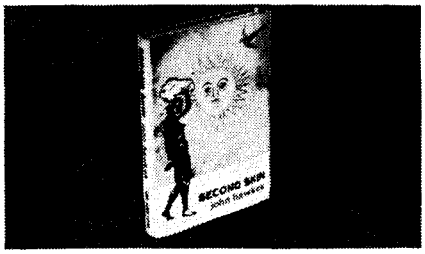
[PLEASE INDICATE YOUR CHOICES BELOW BY NUMBER.]

I. SEND THE FOLLOWING SELECTIONS FREE —with New-Member Purchase(s) at the right			II. SEND THE FOLLOWING SELECTION(S) AT SPECIAL NEW-MEMBER'S PRICE [$2.95]

Name .....

Address ..... City..... Zone..... State.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Second Skin

A NOVEL BY

JOHN HAWKES

This gripping, suspenseful story of a family blasted by suicide is the finest achievement of a writer now recognized as a novelist of the first rank.

"*Second Skin* is Hawkes' best book, a magnificent work of the imagination. The pleasures of the story are profuse and exciting." —BERNARD MALAMUD

"Hawkes has his own vision of things: fantastic, nightmarish, flickering with disturbing truths, the ordinary grown ominous. *Second Skin* is at his best level." —ROBERT PENN WARREN

"An extraordinary writer." —SAUL BELLOW

Clothbound, $4.00 *Paperback, $1.60*
Limited, signed first edition, $15.00

A NEW DIRECTIONS BOOK
333 Sixth Avenue, New York City 14

New, from OXFORD

One Nation Indivisible

THE UNION IN AMERICAN THOUGHT, 1776-1861

by PAUL C. NAGEL. A many-faceted study of the growth of the concept of Union during the nation's crucial formative years. By tracing America's views of itself in the years between the Revolution and the Civil War, Mr. Nagel illumines the very nature of the idea — still vital today at the center of conflict over national power. A permanent contribution to our intellectual history. $7.00

At all bookstores

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS • New York

Crepuscular and Creepy

Emlyn Williams' *Night Must Fall* (1935), a thriller about an appealing Welsh homicidal maniac, which was made into a film in 1937 with Robert Montgomery in the leading role that the author had played on the stage and with the author supporting him, is still an effective theater piece. But the new version on film directed by Karel Reisz, with Albert Finney as the murderer, is dispersed and ineffective. The director and star, who were also co-producers, were not content to do Williams' good, old thriller; they prevailed on Clive Exton, the scriptwriter, to freshen it up. This has meant, in their view, to recognize that knowledge of psychoses is much more common currency than it was thirty years ago and that certain new styles in cinema itself now flourish. Most obtrusively, they seem burdened with an obligation to their status not to make a mere shocker, so they have extracted the suspenseful and have emphasized the clinical. But since Williams was principally interested in hackle-raising, and plumbed only enough psychological depth to hold the story together, they have figuratively removed the walls and left the framework to keep out the weather. The result is drafty.

Night Must Fall (M-G-M)

In this version we know from the start that Danny is a murderer; the audience is not allowed to be clever and deduce it. (He does not betray himself by humming *Mighty Lak A Rose.*) A nod to the 1960's shows him and Olivia in bed together. There is a long scene in which he forces himself to look at the contents of the infamous hatbox – in a mirror! – to undergo a tormenting thrill. This version eliminates the moment in which Olivia announces both her submission to Danny and her knowledge of his crime by claiming the hatbox as her own when the inspector is about to open it. As for old Mrs. Bramson's murder, we see Danny coming toward her with a tremendous gardening knife, then hacking her; thus we lose the gooseflesh line that ended the penultimate scene:

Mrs. Bramson: (Absently) "What are you going to do with that cushion?"

The theme that Finney and Reisz have plumped for is infantile regression, which, when it takes over, makes Danny childishly hurtful and spiteful but with a man's strength. But as the intrinsic materials are slight, the film sags, and *Grand Guignol* becomes only *petit* Freud.

Finney, as Danny, is attractive and convincing in his brash boisterous moments, less convincing in the mad moments when the study seems studied, and is somewhat forced in his attempts at smiling charm. His face is not in itself unusually expressive. Cast in a smile, it seems just that: cast in a smile. Susan Hampshire has fresh South Kensington sweetness as the daughter of the house. The stellar performance is by Mona Washbourne as the invalid Mrs. Bramson, petulant, tyrannical, almost obscene.

There is a good deal of clever cross-cutting, there is a good deal of that modish device of beginning the sound track of the next scene just before the present scene ends, there is at the finish a souvenir of Fritz Lang's *Testament of Dr. Mabuse;* but since all this apparatus only makes this slim picture drag, the techniques degenerate into trickery. Ron Grainer's music is heavily telegraphic and advisory.

It is a pity that Reisz's impressive debut with *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* was, in any case, followed by *Night Must Fall.* Even well done, it would not be a fit successor. Here the general effect is of a director who is unhappy with his material as insufficient for his talents and, in trying to make more of it than it is, makes it less.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Edward T. Chase *is a consultant in economics.* Frank Getlein *is the author of a new book,* The Bite of the Print.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRY IT TWO WEEKS FREE

New, "automated," easy-learning way to

INCREASE YOUR VOCABULARY

Enjoy greater job and social success!

It's been proven beyond a shadow of a doubt in hundreds of tests by psychologists and personnel directors — *increase your vocabulary and you increase your pay check!*

No matter what kind of work you do, the ability to use a large vocabulary skillfully will win you greater attention and respect. You'll make a favorable, lasting impression when you speak at business meetings, departmental discussions, important job interviews, community functions . . . when you write business letters and office memoranda, sell your ideas — and *yourself* — on paper, deal with clients and customers . . . and of course, on all social occasions.

Men and women throughout the country — many of them college graduates — who once suffered from poor vocabularies, found their personal and business advancement amazingly accelerated when they strengthened their vocabulary and so added to the color, flexibility, persuasion and power of their speech and writing.

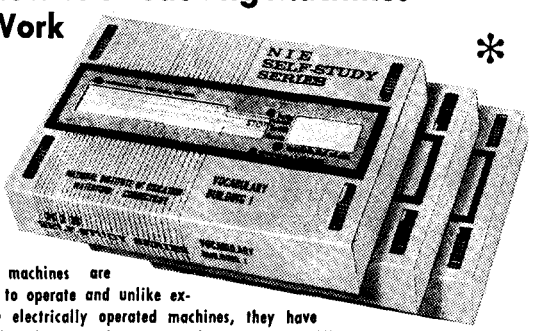
Now a remarkable new "programmed" course immediately gives you all the words you need to build a forceful and vigorous vocabulary . . . words you can use to sharpen and polish your speaking and writing skills — with a minimum of effort. That's because instead of books, pamphlets or records, this Course consists of three teaching machines that teach you more in a week than other methods do in a month.

Here Is What This Course Will Do For You

In no time at all, you'll build a powerful new vocabulary, with thousands of new words for your "word bank." You'll understand prefixes, suffixes, roots and origin-usage. You'll get an invaluable grounding in word derivations . . . understand, as never before, how words have been developed from their Latin and Greek roots. As your knowledge of words — and your vocabulary — increases, you'll proceed on to contextural clues, configuration clues, and general word knowledge.

You'll learn "instinctively" to use exactly the right word to express precisely what you wish to say or write, and so enormously increase both the effectiveness of your ideas and your power to persuade people. This amazing Course is a quick, sure road to a dynamic new vocabulary — and the enormous satisfaction and financial rewards that go with it!

How The Teaching Machines Work



*

These machines are simple to operate and unlike expensive electrically operated machines, they have no wiring, bulbs, or batteries to fail or replace. All you do is turn a knob and a single bit of information appears in a window in the machine. You write the answer to the question it asks, and turn the knob again. Instantly, you see the correct answer and so reinforce what you've learned.

The machines are "programmed" to feed you information in logical order. You master each step before you proceed to the next. Almost incredible results have been obtained by teaching machines in schools, colleges, industry and the Armed Forces . . . and this is the technique this VOCABULARY BUILDING COURSE uses to give you a masterly command of the spoken and written word.

***These 3 machines come to you in a handsome desk-top slipcase.**

Try The Course 2 Weeks FREE Send No Money

A few years ago, three teaching machines alone sold for as much as $30, $40 even $50. But the great demand has made it possible to mass-produce them. Now you can get THE THREE MACHINES of the VOCABULARY BUILDING COURSE at the phenomenally low price of only $9.95.

Just fill out and mail the coupon below and we'll send you the three teaching machines in the Course for a TWO-WEEK FREE TRIAL. If you're not absolutely delighted with the Course, just return the materials and pay nothing.

FREE-TRIAL COUPON — MAIL TODAY

National Institute of Education,
Dept. 5167-E1
24 Rope Ferry Rd., Waterford, Conn.

Please send me the Programmed VOCABULARY BUILDING COURSE consisting of the three teaching machines for a two-week FREE trial. At the end of two weeks I will either return the Course and owe nothing, or send you $9.95, plus a few cents for postage and handling, as payment in full.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... *Zone* ..... *State* .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TEENAGE ADVENTURES

HAWAII/MEXICO for STUDENTS OF GOODWILL
Coed camping under Quaker leadership—singing, laughing, discussing, hiking, worshipping, working, folk-dancing—"roughing it" off the beaten track, seeking the heart of the country and the hearts of the people—no surfboards, no resorts—just joy, sweat, simplicity, challenge, dirt, inspiration—Ken Stevens, Director, 3473-BRT California Avenue, Modesto, California.

Any Book

Out-of-print books located—no matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation.

Books-On-File
Dept. NEW Union City, N. J.

EUROPE

An unregimented trip stressing individual freedom. Low cost yet covers all the usual plus places other tours miss. Unless the standard tour is a "must" for you, discover this unique tour before you go to Europe.
EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Dept. N—Pasadena, California

L'EXPRESS
The leading liberal newspaper in France today.
Send 25c for your sample copy.
Howard Publications
7th floor
132 West 43rd Street
New York 36, N.Y.

Correspondence

The Deputy

Sirs:

Why is Mr. Robert Brustein (*N.R.*, March 14) dissatisfied, like the newspaper critics who so dissatisfy him, with Rolf Hochhuth's portrait of Pope Pius XII? According to Mr. Brustein, Hochhuth "... left us with a superficial and shadowy character whose motives remain unplumbed." How unserious Mr. Brustein is in making this criticism can be gauged by the fact that in a previous paragraph of his piece he indicates his belief that any other pope than Pacelli at that time and in those circumstances would have acted just as Pacelli did. Hence it follows that the secret motives of Pacelli were irrelevant to his decision, and that Rolf Hochhuth was well-advised in not having tried to plumb them. Having committed himself to one *bêtise*, Mr. Brustein could not resist another. He makes a comparison between Hochhuth's portrait of Pius XII and Hannah Arendt's portrait of Eichmann, to the advantage of course of Miss Arendt. But Hochhuth tried to be absolutely faithful to the known facts about Pacelli's behavior and utterances; Hannah Arendt, writing what was presumably a historical and not a fictional work, permitted herself to construct an imaginary Eichmann in gross violation of the canons of historical accuracy and even of *New Yorker* journalism.

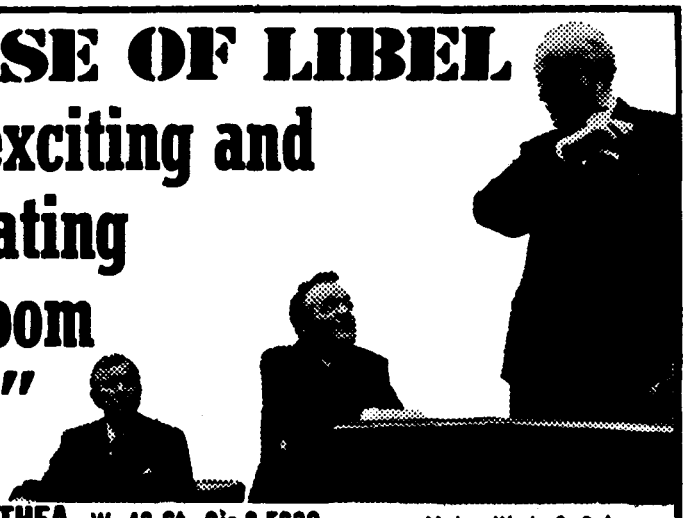
I also object to Mr. Brustein's remark that humanity disgraced itself once more when certain unpleasant members of it picketed performances of *The Deputy*. He even goes on to imply that the behavior of these pickets is not unlike the behavior of those critics (maybe he thinks *critic* rhymes with *picket*) who wrote reasoned arguments against Miss Arendt's book and in whom, too, humanity presumably disgraced itself. Now I do not think the 700 million Chinese, the 700 million Moslems, the Japanese, the Buddhists of all races, the American Indians, the Ainus, or even our own benighted American compatriots were all disgraced by the screams of the pickets at the Brooks Atkinson theater. How easy it is for Mr. Brustein to think humanity has disgraced itself! I am reminded of the letter he wrote *The New Republic* last summer praising Miss Arendt for exposing with unflinching truthfulness the "horrible ordinariness" of men under totalitarianism. But Miss Arendt's book was anything but truthful; it contains no less than 600 distortions of fact, a record, I believe, for a book of 256 pages. If Mr. Brustein thinks that Miss Arendt's numerous errors can be justified or explained away, let him dispute openly on this matter and not hide behind asides in reviews addressed to other topics.

Lionel Abel
New York City

In reply:

Speaking of distortions, I'll bet Lionel Abel has broken some record of his own in paraphrasing my review of *The Deputy*. For example, I made quite certain to say that Pacelli's shadowy character in the play was an *aesthetic* fault, adding that it was the natural consequence of Hochhuth's need for historical accuracy; and my point about the disgrace of humanity had to do with the inability of man in general to accept an unpleasant truth. I never once mentioned the "pickets" in front of the theater, not even to rhyme the word with "critics" (some rhyme), though I did speak of "the slanders, the innuendo, the protests, the riots" that the play had provoked here and abroad. As for justifying the "numerous errors" of *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, let me refer the reader to the current issue of *Partisan Review*, where Mary McCarthy does precisely that by demonstrating the

"A CASE OF LIBEL is an exciting and stimulating courtroom drama."
—TAUBMAN, TIMES



LONGACRE THEA. W. 48 St. Cir 6-5639 Mats. Wed. & Sat.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

peculiar method Lionel Abel uses to arrive at what he calls "distortions of fact."

Robert Brustein

Bad Times for Planners

Sirs:

TRB (March 7) probably guesses right "that 'planning' has somehow got to emerge in America from being a dirty word." But even enthusiasts for planning become reluctant to support American "planning."

Take the 60,000 units of public housing TRB calls tokenism. Your Wolf Von Eckardt wrote (October 19) "a quarter of a century after public housing became a national program the nation had still not learned from its earliest, disastrous follies." Such planning even socialists reject; a token is more than enough.

Perhaps the trouble stems from our attempt to educate a cadre of planners within an anti-planning social ethic. (City planning graduates want to be private practice consultants, just like members of the AMA.) I hope, with TRB, that old myths die.

Roger Montgomery
School of Architecture
Washington University

For the Best in Custom Photo Finishing Try One of Our Big Three Offers

1—Beautiful 8x10" black & white enlargement from any slide, print or negative—$2.00 P.P.

2—20 Beautiful wallet prints & one 5x7" in folder from any slide, print or negative—$3.00 P.P.

3—"Chicago at Night." Four Color Slides—$1.00 P.P.

Catalog & sample Slide 25c P.P.

ERLER CAMERA
1540 E. 83rd St.
Chicago, Ill. 60619

U.S. NEWS, 39 weeks $3.87; NEWSWEEK, 40 weeks $3.67; NEW REPUBLIC, 25 weeks $3.00; TIME (student), 1 year $4.00. Pollocks Magazine Service, Little Silver, New Jersey.

PAINTER with small family desires caretaking duties, etc., for quarters & small salary. Location open. Ronn Johnson, 1016 Princeton, Elkhart, Indiana.

HANDMADE CIGARS
MASTER CRAFTSMEN MAKE THESE SUPERB CIGARS FROM FINEST IMPORTED LEAF
Sensible Prices—From Factory To You

5A Cubano Magnifico, 7 Inches Long—Churchillian Proportions.
50 Cigars in Spanish Cedar Chest $22.00
Special This Month.....$20.00

5B Cubano Elegante, 7 Inches Long—Beautifully Slender
50 Cigars in Spanish Cedar Chest.....$13.75

5C Cubano Corona, 5 Inches Long
50 Cigars in Cedar Box.....$11.50

Choice of Wrappers: Havana Candela (Claro) English Market (Medium Claro) Maduro (Dark)
Order Direct From Factory
CIGAR CRAFTSMEN'S GUILD OF TAMPA
2008 - 14th Street, Tampa 5, Florida

MASTER DRAWINGS. Superb replicas, superbly matted. $10 each. Free brochure. Bernice Grenert, 550 Fifth Avenue, NYC 36.

CAMP WANTED, without too much organization, for boy of 11, preferably on Cape Cod where art instruction is taught casually. Reply Francis Biddle, 1669 31st Street N.W., Washington 7, D.C.

RETURNING PEACE CORPSMAN (Master's degree) seeks position as College English Instructor beginning fall semester. Frank Anastasio, Iloilo Normal School, Philippines.

YOUNG MAN, B.S. Chemistry, desires to teach same in high school or private school. Rieser, 14 Elmtree Place, Glenbrook, Conn.

"TEACH ABROAD," a narrative report about overseas teaching opportunities. Contains information about openings, salaries, living conditions, as well as where to apply and sample resume form. Send $2 to Benmark Books, P.O. Box 5238, Seattle, Washington 98107.

CHILDREN OF THE INNER CITY need a summer camp experience. Your $5.00 check will help a child from the Rockwell-Maplewood Public Housing Project to have it. Mail to Kids to Camp, 2413 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 12. (Receipt will be sent.)

FOR RENT: Large, furnished South Jersey seashore apartment. Quiet, cool, inexpensive. Rensch, Franklin Drive, Bridgeton, N.J.

FOR SALE: 3-apartment house. Double lot, adjoining lake and ocean. Owner retiring. Dellas Realtor, Cape May, N.J.

SUMMER OR FULL TIME WORK ABROAD wanted: 22-year-old woman, dean's list student, B.A. in English literature in June, speaks Italian, 5 summers work experience, Red Cross Instructor. Reply SH, 911 South Crouse Street, Syracuse, New York.

YOUNG MAN, M.A. Political Science, B.A. Humanities, desires full-time position. Many interests. Box 65, The New Republic.

YOUR HANDWRITING REVEALS character, hidden talents, potentials, flaws, your health, personality. Free details! Psychographology, Box 12-P, Olympia, Washington.

"BARRY G. and WORLD WAR III", four other trenchant automobile stickers, $2.50; ten, $4. Stickers, 801 Security Building, Roswell, New Mexico.

"LETTY ITA SPEAKS," "Query," "You, I, Him, Me," "Conclusions," Doodlers Analysis, 25c each. Writings, Box 1778, G.P.O. No. 1, N.Y.C.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING." Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free. Sleep-Learning Research Association, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

SUMMERLANE SCHOOL AND CAMP. "An American Summerhill." Box 26R, Mileses, New York.

SILENCE THOSE AGGRESSIVE HUCKSTERS! — Minimize commercial brain-washing! Silence commercials with simple device. Illustrated "do-it-yourself" instructions plus safety resistor, 25c; complete kit, including switch, wire and safety resistor, $1.50 The Silencer, P.O. Box 106, Berkeley 1, California.

NEW TEENAGE SUMMER PROGRAM develops greater self-confidence, improved work habits, better use of leisure. Write Shaker Village, P.O. Box 1149N, Pittsfield, Mass.

"WILL FORMS." Two will forms and book on wills. $1.00 complete. National Forms, Box 48313NR, Los Angeles 48, Calif.

SUMMER JOB: College girl with three summers work experience, desires camp, companion, or other employment. Age 19, Senior life saving, sailing, other outdoor abilities, fairly fluent in French, able to instruct in ballet. References. Box 250 The New Republic.

ADULTS ONLY! A Love Affair With The Piano. Master lessons, taught through correspondence, by artist teacher of over 30 years experience. Cameo Studio Dept. N., 25 Cameo Road, Levittown, Pa.

A CALL TO YOUNG LIBERALS and moderates. As tomorrow's leaders we must prepare today. Keep America moving forward. Send for membership. Student Union for World Goals, 55 Walnut, Quincy, Mass.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

THE HUMANIST relies only upon himself and is concerned with *this* life. He accepts the responsibility of working to perfect the world. Are there reasons why humanists should join the American Humanist Association? Literature available. Dept. NR 1, Humanist House, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

FOR ANTIQUARIANS still shooting black and white films, finest quality enlargements 5x7—33c, 8x10—42c, 11x14—95c, 16x20—$2.50. Please add postage. Foto Portrait Co., 1173 Ogden Ave., New York 10452.

THE ROCK: To increase young people's insight into themselves and extend their outlook upon the world—these aims have more to do with life at The Rock than the word "camp" usually suggests. Write for Rockolog and creative writing magazine. 11-17 Williamsburg, RFD, Mass.

YOUNG PhD, HISTORY, international affairs; published; on faculty major university; seeks position magazine or book publisher; editing/writing/research. Write Box 85, The New Republic, 1244 19th Street N.W., Washington 36, D. C.

Printed by National Publishing Co. 302 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN PRESS IS NO LONGER THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

American journalism has grown fat and lazy. The scoop, the expose and the fiery editorial have virtually disappeared. In 96% of American cities, the daily newspapers are controlled by a single ownership. Today we have far fewer newspapers than we had in 1900, despite a tripling of the population since then. Many of today's magazines, the bloodless progeny of such journalistic titans as Garrison's *Liberator* and Mencken's *American Mercury*, shrink from controversy and print only those articles they know will please advertisers and preserve revenues.

The opportunity for the dissenting voice to be heard, for the unpopular cause to be championed, has vanished from free America. We live in the age of managed news, of journalistic indolence, of press-agentry, of government censorship. Today's magazines and newspapers make a mockery of the Jeffersonian concept of democracy as safeguarded by a watchdog press.

As a partial antidote to this serious threat to the democratic process, we are proud to announce publication of FACT, a bimonthly of uncompromising truth. FACT will be America's permanent roving Diogenes, peering into the halls of legislature, the ateliers of art, the archives of history and the laboratories of science; sifting from pitchman's ballyhoo and politician's cant, the *fact*. FACT will be a fearless magazine, beholden neither to advertisers nor to vested interests. It will not hesitate to ask, "Where are the emperor's clothes?"

Perhaps the best way to describe FACT is to list articles it will print:

Suppressed Government Report on Relative Safety of American Car Makes and Models – Unmentioned and unmentionable in the mass media, a study by one of the armed forces shows that your chances of meeting death on the highway are 50% greater in one of Detroit's "Big Three" cars than in the other two. FACT will reveal, by brand name, which American cars are safe and which are lethal.

The Sexual Aggressions That Underlie War – A psychoanalyst tells how unconscious sexual aggressions dominate politics and lead to war, and why he believes war will not be eradicated till these drives are widely understood.

A Day in the Bitter-Sweet Life of an Inter-racial Couple.

The Declining Prestige of the Minister – A Lutheran clergyman decries his change in status from community leader and family counsellor to Sunday morning social director.

Should the Government Break Up AT&T?

Public Hostility to the Peace Corps – "I was astonished that a nation so young had become so suspicious of its youth," says Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver.

The Motivation of Anti-Fluoridation Leaders – A series of confidential interviews reveals that most of them are not the least bit concerned with the alleged dangers of fluoride.

The Social Utility of Pornography.

"Time": The WEEKLY Fiction Magazine – At FACT's invitation, the following celebrities give first-hand knowledge of errors and distortions by *Time:* Irwin Shaw, Sloan Wilson, Igor Stravinsky, Tallulah Bankhead, Mary McCarthy, P. G. Wodehouse, Eugene Burdick, Conrad Aiken, Walter Winchell, John Osborne, Vincent Price, Burgess Meredith, Rockwell Kent, Ralph Ingersoll, H. Allen Smith, Taylor Caldwell and others.

The Negro Revolution Must Lead to Violence – Without at least one massive Negro uprising, Southern whites will not be shaken from Jim Crowism, argues the author of an important book on Negro rights.

A Psychoanalytical View of the Crucifixion.

The Psychological Destructiveness of Advertising – By the noted Dr. Fredric Wertham.

Should a Jew Buy a German-Made Car?

Russian Experiments in Extra-Sensory Perception.

Does Religion Comfort the Dying? – An unsettling answer from 115 hospital patients who know they are about to die.

The American Civil Liberties Union – Why much of the press deplores or ignores the nation's only organization completely faithful to the U.S. Constitution.

The Decline of the "New Yorker" Magazine – A prediction that its rambling articles, antiquated format, emasculated reviews and stagnant circulation will soon bring its demise.

Is Cancer Psychosomatic? – Members of the American Society of Psychosomatic Dentistry and Medicine believe certain forms of cancer are emotional in origin and they describe the personality types most susceptible.

Race Hatred in Russia.

Lincoln's Bawdy Humor – A collection of authenticated Lincoln anecdotes reveals a facet of his genius they didn't teach you about in high school.

San Francisco: Sanctuary for the Homosexual.

Radio Free Europe: A Threat to U.S. Security – It consistently contradicts the Voice of America and sabotages State Department efforts to thaw the cold war.

In summation, FACT will print the information which many other magazines cannot afford to touch or which they must belie or distort. FACT will carry no advertising. It will be beholden to no one but its readers.

FACT's editors are a group of talented and dedicated writers, artists and researchers with long years of experience on some of the nation's best-known periodicals. Its contributors include the most brilliant thinkers of our time: Bertrand Russell, Linus Pauling, Dwight Macdonald and Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, to name a few.

FACT is a handsome magazine. Elegant woodcuts, engravings and drawings grace its pages.

The price of FACT is $7.50 per year. To enter your subscription, please fill out the coupon below and mail it with $7.50 to FACT, 110 W. 40th Street, New York, N. Y. 10018.

If you do it now, you will receive a collector's item: Volume I, Issue 1 of a crusading magazine which promises to become the intellectual forum of one of the most exciting eras of American history.

FACT
110 W. 40th Street
New York, N.Y. 10018

I enclose $7.50 for a one year Charter Subscription to FACT, to begin with Volume I, Issue 1.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

NR-1

© 1963 FACT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED